

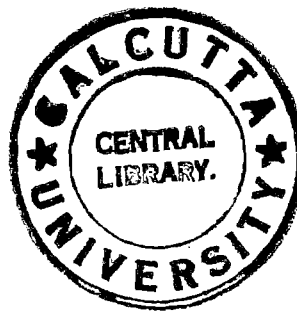
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**BUDDHIST MONASTIC EDUCATION IN ANCIENT
INDIA
A CRITICAL APPROACH**

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN PALI -

- By -

Rachita Chaudhuri/
Research Scholar.



Department of Pali
University of Calcutta

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- PREFACE - -----

There is no country in the World other than India where the quest of knowledge of Truth had enrooted itself deeply at the dawn of civilization. From the beginning Aryan life and Culture Vedic Rsis and their followers had been continually disseminating new thoughts by way of establishing educational institutions and imparting knowledge to the pupils successively. In the history of education in ancient India Buddhist system of education occupies a significant position in respect of methodology, training and doctrine.

In Pre-Buddhist Vedic Brahmanical system the pupils consisting mainly of three upper castes were taught in the house of teacher whereas the Buddhist monasteries run by the order (Sangha) primarily established by Buddha himself were the centres of learning wherein senior and learned monks taught a collective body of monk pupils without distinction of Caste and creed. In fact, these monks were really the custodians and torch-bearers of Buddhist learning and culture in India and abroad

In the present work I have made an attempt to draw a pen-picture of Buddhist way of life of the monks and nuns ,their religious and secular education, a method and training, in morality and mental culture, attainments and realisation living in the monasteries, some of which turned to be big and well-known Universities as recorded in the sources of Pali, Tibetan, Chinese, etc.

I express my deep and sincere indebtedness and gratitude to my research guide and Supervisor Prof. Dr. Bela Bhattacharya, University Professor of Pali, University of Calcutta for her kind and valuable guidance and constant inspiration throughout the course of Research. I also convey my heartfelt gratitude to Prof. Dr. Sukomal Chaudhuri, ex-Principal, Sanskrit College, Calcutta ; Dr. Asha Das, ex-Reader and Head of the Department of Pali, University of Calcutta ; Dr. Manikuntala Halder De, the Head of the Department of Pali, University of Calcutta ; Dr. Sadhan Chandra Sarkar ; Dr. Jayanti Chatterjee and other teachers of the Department of Pali for their invaluable instructions and suggestions for completion of my research

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Rachita Chaudhury,
Research Scholar
Department of Pali,
University of Calcutta.

Chapter-1

- I N T R O D U C T I O N - *****

We are still in the dark about the condition of education in ancient India in the Pre-Aryan period though the extensive archaeological discoveries at Harappa, Mohenjo-daro and other localities in the Indus valley have pushed back time limit of India's history to 3000 B.C., if not earlier, and have revealed highly developed civilisation called Indus valley Civilisation and so India can now lay claim to the honour of being pioneer of civilisation along with Sumer, Babylon, Egypt and Assyria. Attempt has been made here to reconstruct briefly a picture of the culture and civilization that flourished in this region from remains found principally at Harappa and Mohenjodaro.¹

Town Planning :

A visitor to the ruins at Mohenjodaro (i.e. the city of Dead) is struck by the remarkable skill in Town-Planning and sanitation displayed by the ancients. The city was the creation of careful forethought and planning, as is indicated by the striking regularity of the divisions, the successfully aligned streets, the orientation of all principal streets to the points of the Compass, the correspondence of the houses and public buildings with the orientation of thoroughfares, etc. Streets varied from 9 ft to 34 ft. in width and run straight sometimes half a mile. They intersected at right angles dividing city into square or rectangular blocks. Inside this square or oblong, the area is intersected by a number of narrow lanes crowded with the houses. Each lane has a public well, and point of the houses have each a private well and a bath. Nowhere was a building allowed

to encroach on a public high way as in Mohenjodaro, in general, is plain and utilitarian, rather solid than beautiful. The aim in the Indus valley was to make life comfortable and luxurious rather than refined or artistic. Harappa is larger in extent than Mohenjodaro and had a longer span of life but presents nearly the same features. Wells at Harappa are rare as compared to Mohenjodaro². The most remarkable and largest building at Harappa is the Great Granary, measuring 169 feet by 135 feet which comprises two similar blocks with an aisle, 23 feet wide between them. Generally burnt bricks were used for construction of building drains, etc. The buildings thus far unearthed in the Indus valley fall into three main classes. (i) dwelling houses, (ii) larger buildings and (iii) public baths³. The elaborate drainage system is a unique feature of Indus valley civilization, the like of which has not yet been found in any other city of the same antiquity. The Great Bath, which has been taken to be a part of a vast hydropathic establishment is "a swimming bath on a scale which would do credit to a modern sea-side hotel"⁴. The careful town-planning, adequate water supply, and efficient drainage system presupposes an advanced state of civic authority. Lamp post at intervals indicate the existence of street lighting. There was also a watch and ward system for different quarters, and large caravan serais and public store-houses were provided. That the sanitation was well-looked after is seen from the rubbish heap consisting of broken pottery, ashes and humus found in deep trenches outside the city. Trees and plants were allowed to grow in the enclosures. Seven different layers have been recognized in the excavations at Mohenjodaro. The antiquities in all these levels are homogeneous, the only

point of difference being the deterioration of masonry in the later occupation of the cities. The later levels of the city show the decline of civic authority, as buildings were erected in a haphazard manner, there were encroachments upon lanes, and, potters were quartered in the city.

Social and Economic life :

All the remains unearthed at Mohenjodaro may be taken as representative of an urban population. Though little is yet known about the actual method of agriculture adopted by the people of Indus valley, the examination of the specimens of wheat and barley found in the ruins shows that they were not of the wild species. Besides wheat, barley, and rice, milk too must have been an important item of food and doubtless vegetables and other fruits besides the date were included in the dietary. Harappa cultivated peas and sesamums⁵. Animals were both domesticated and wild such as humped ox, horse, cow, bison, rhinoceros, tiger, monkey, bear etc. As regards dress, no actual specimens of clothing have been discovered. One alabaster statue shows that two garments were worn, with the traditional oriental fondness for ornaments, men, women, both rich and poor, decorated themselves with them and all known semi-precious stones and metals were utilized for manufacturing various ornaments. Various household articles made of pottery, stone, shell and metals have been found in Mohenjodaro. Of the medicines used by the people of Indus Valley we know but little except some specimens presumed to be used in cases of dyspepsia, diabetes, diseases of the liver, rheumatism etc. All these specifics are still prescribed in Ayurvedic medicine and thus the

origin of the indigenous medicinal system of India may be traced to the Indus valley civilization. Abundant specimens of weapons, tools, and implements have been discovered.

The people of Mohenjodaro maintained close contact with the outside world. For the import of various metals, precious stones and other articles the Indus valley had connections with Southern and Eastern India, Kashmir, Mysore, Nilgiri hills, as also with the countries to the West and Central Asia, Sumer, Egypt and Crete. The remains unearthed at Mohenjodaro demonstrate the existence of different sections of people who may be grouped into four main classes, the learned Class, warriors, traders and artisan and finally manual labourers, corresponding to roughly to the four Varnas of the Vedic - period.

Seals discovered in the various strata constitute one of the most interesting features of the finds. Hitherto over 2000 seals have been discovered from the various sites. Steatite, ivory and pottery are the materials used for manufacturing seals which are of various sizes and shapes, the most popular shape being square or oblong decorated with exquisite designs, generally of animals, and with inscriptions in a pictographic script. The inscriptions on the seals, however, do not seem to have any connections with figures on them, as the same animal figure is found in company with completely different inscriptions. As regards religion of the people of Indus Valley nothing can be said definitely except the concept of Mother Goddess and Shiva.

It is not possible, in the present stage

of our knowledge, to determine the language of script of the inscriptions. Some scholars take it to be Sanskrit and others as Dravidian. There is possibility of having several institutions for imparting education and training of so many highly civilized urban people, but we can not say nothing definitely about it.

According to Sir John Marshall, more than a thousand years after the last vestige of the Indus Valley civilization disappeared round about in 1500 B.C. We are concerned with the Aryan life and culture including education as revealed in the Vedic and the post-Vedic-Brahmanic literature. The following pages will show that there is affinity between Buddhist monastic education regarding system and method though their aim and object are quite different. The Brahmanical system was predominantly what may be called the domestic system of education under which the individual teacher's home was the school of the young admitted to it as pupils. After completion of study, the pupil returned home and entered house-hold life. There, however, Rsis who dwelt in forests were in contemplation of God and self-realization by means of Tapas would be for the few. Under the Buddhist system the home was superseded by the monastery. In fact, Buddhist education begins with the destruction of domestic ties as the starting-point. The necessity of a domestic environment under the Brahmanical scheme did not thus favour the expansion of the School under an individual teacher into a larger educational federation, like University controlled by a collective body of teachers, as was the characteristic of Buddhist system. The Brahmanical system was based on the monarchical principle, the Buddhist corresponded to the democratic type. In the history of education in ancient India

Buddhist monastic system of education occupies a significant place for training men in morality and mental culture leading to wisdom and salvation.

References :-

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Dikshita K.N., Pre-Historic Civilization, p.25.
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CHAPTER - 11.

EDUCATION IN VEDIC-BRAHMANIC PERIOD

Education in Vedic Period :

Pre-Buddhist Brahmanic education

in ancient India was a product of more religious than Socio - economic and political conditions of the Aryan life and culture. The literature and culture of this period was mostly the means of preaching religion, but it did not altogether neglect the worldly affair. Religion was, no doubt, predominant in every sphere of life and so it may be used, that ancient India was built up in religious field much more than in political, economic and social field. Since the birth of the oldest Vedic poetry we find Indian literature for a period of more than a thousand years bearing an exclusively religious stamp. Ancient Indian education system also developed in the same line. In India the knowledge was not gained only for the sake of knowledge, but it was a means of obtaining salvation (Mokṣa). Dr. R. K. Mukherji says, " Learning in India through the age had been prized and pursued not for its own sake, if we may so put it but for the sake and as a part, of religion. It was sought as the means of salvation or self-realization, as the means of highest end of life, viz., ' Mukti or Emancipation '.

The account of Aryan culture including the system of education was preserved in the literature containing the R̥g-Veda Saṃhitā and other Vedas, viz., Sām : Yaju and Atharva, Brahmapas, Āraṇyaks (Upaniṣads) and the R̥g Veda is established as the earliest work (1500 B.C.) not merely of

the Hindus but of all Indo-European languages of humanity. Max Muller in his Origin and Development of Religion says, "One thing is certain, namely, that there is nothing more primitive, more ancient than the hymns of the R̥gveda, whether in India or the whole Aryan world. Being Aryan in language and thought, the R̥gveda is the most ancient of our books". The R̥gveda contains within itself the seeds and source from the entire course of Hindu thought through the ages has derived and followed in so many streams. It lays the foundation upon which Hindu civilization has been building up through the ages.

R̥gveda :

The R̥gveda, in the form in which we have it now, is a compilation out of old material, a collection and selection (Samhitā) of 1017 hymns out of the vast literature of hymns which had been accumulating for a long period. Some hundreds of years must have been needful for all the hymns to come into being. M. Winternitz opines, "Centuries must have elapsed between the composition of earliest hymns and the ^{R̥gveda} Samhitā itself refers to the work of earlier and later authors."

The three other later Vedic Samhitās are Sāmaveda, Yajurveda and Atharvaveda. The principle governing their compilation is quite different that of R̥gveda. It follows the order of an established ceremonial pointing to fixed order of sacrifices. But in the R̥gveda Samhitā, the order of the hymns has nothing to do with the order of the sacrifices. But the Yajurveda and the Sāmaveda, were compiled exclusively for purposes of ritual application. In vedic-period austerity and sacrifices had prominent place. With the spread of Vedic culture, the sacrificial

rituals dominated and the Brahmana priests gained the highest position in Indian Society. Consequently, to cause the four kinds of ritual-duties, the priests were divided into four categories :-

- (1) Hotṛ - They were called also Hotā and used to recite the prayer to Indra, Agni, Varuṇa, etc. They were specialized for recital of hymns.
- (2) Udgātṛ - These priests recited only the Mantras of Soma Yajña as the chanting of hymns requiring a special training for which the Udgātṛ equipped himself.
- (3) Advaryu - These priests performed different practical duties of the rituals. They were specialized in the actual performance of sacrifice involving a number of operations and material details.
- (4) Brāhmaṇ - They looked after all the activities of ritual, the superintendence and direction of the worship as a whole for which the Brāhmaṇ priest had to qualify by acquiring proficiency in all the three Vedas so as to be able to correct errors in the performance of different parts and operations of sacrificer.

Sāmaveda :

In the Sāmaveda, the text is treated only as means to an end, the learning of melodies. The student whose object was to be trained as an Udgātṛ priest in the Schools of Sāmaveda had first to learn melodies and this he could do with the aid of the Arcika part of Sāmaveda or the song book where is

given only the text of the first stanza of each song as an aid to the recollection of the tune. The Uttararcika part gives the stanzas out of which are formed the stotras to be sung at the sacrifices, to the tunes which the Arcika teachers^{directed}. The Sāmaveda is thus like a song-book giving the complete text of the songs and not merely the text of the first stanza of a song.

Yajurveda :

Just as the Sāmaveda is the song-book of the Udgātri, the Yajurveda is the prayer book of Adhvarya priest. The Yajurveda has two divisions called Black (Kṛṣṇa) and white (Śukla), also called Vājasaneyi-saṁhitā. The white Yajurveda contains only the Mantras, the Prayers, and sacrificial formulae which the priest has to utter, while the Black Yajurveda contains the Mantras in verse and also a portion in prose.

Atharvaveda :

The Atharvaveda, indeed, contains much new and original matter. A large part of this Vedic Saṁhitā refers to and mentions appropriate herbs as remedies against diseases like fever, leprosy, Jaundice, dropsy, cough, Ophthalmia and surgical ailments like fractures and wounds, bite of snakes, etc. The Atharvaveda thus ranks as the oldest book of Indian medicine. Besides, it deals with Astronomy, domestic life, harmony in family, reconciliation with enemy, health, safety on journey, luck in gambling, so on.

Education in Vedas :

The R̥gveda Saṁhitā reveals two

two stages and types of education and educational method. The matter of the Ṛgveda, its hymns, are the outcome of the first, the method of the pursuit of the highest truth and of its direct realisation on the basis of ascetic austerities and concentrated contemplation called Tapas which marks out the Ṛṣis or " Seel ". In Ṛgveda, there is mention of seven Ṛṣis absorbed in Tapas and of the power of Tapas in raising the lowest to the highest. In x, 154, 2, there is a reference to Tapas of various forms as explained by Śaṇyana, such as (1) austerities like Kṛcharacandṛāyana whereby the ascetic is rendered invincible, (2) sacrifices whereby he attains heaven, and (3) penances of the highest order, e.g. Rājastya, Aśvamedha, forms of Upāsana (Yoga). The verse x, 136, 3 describes the Muni's supreme bliss with souls detached from their bodies which alone are seen by the mortals, which means that they lived in a state of samādhi, living in the spirit and not in the body. There is a reference to Sannyāsa in viii, 24, 26. The Ṛṣi of x, 117 is named Bhikṣu and the Sukta is in praise of charity and gifts to one who begs in need.

When the highest knowledge was built up by the seers (Ṛṣis) and revealed and stored up in the hymns, there were necessarily evolved the methods by which such knowledge could be acquired, conserved and transmitted to posterity. Thus every Ṛṣi was a teacher who would start by imparting to his son the text of the knowledge he had personally acquired and such texts would be the special property of his family. Each such family of Ṛṣis was thus functioning like a Vedic school admitting pupils for instruction in literature or texts in its possession. The relations between teacher and taught are well established

in Rgveda. The methods of education naturally varied with the capacities of pupils. Self-realization by means of tapas would be for the few.

As the Rgveda³ itself points out, " Classmates (Sakhās, i.e. those of same knowledge or who have studied the same Śāstras) may have equality in the possession of their senses like the eye and the ear, but betray inequality in respect of their power or speed of mind (manasām prajaveṣu) or the knowledge or wisdom which is attained by the mind).

Recitation of Texts :

The subject of learning being these hymns, the first step was naturally to impart the sacred texts to the learners by recitation. The air was resounding with the recitation of the hymns in the Vedic schools. It was such a familiar phenomenon that it has inspired even a hymn of the Rgveda (vii, 103) which compares the monotonous recitation of words of by the teacher and his pupils to the croaking/frogs exhilarated by the approach of rain. V.M. Apte⁴ says, " The Froghymn gives us a glimpse of the educational system of the Rgvedic age. The fifth verse gives picture of the earliest vedic school by the comparison of the croaking of the frogs to the chorus of voices heard when a teacher recites the Veda, section by section (Parvan), and the pupils repeat his words after him. The first verse of the hymn suggests through simile that this concerted school-recitation sprang into life suddenly, at a stated time (the opening of the monsoon?), because frogs raising their (rain-inspired) voices at the opening of the monsoon after lying low for (the rest of) the year are compared to Brāhmanas, conforming to their

fixed annual routine (Vrata). Evidently the entire instruction was orally given. Debates are also referred to (x, 71). The word ' Brahmacārin ' in the technical sense of a ' religious ' student is found in X, 109, 5. The father was not rarely also a teacher his son taking lessons from him along with a few neighbouring students. That the sharpening of the intellect, as well as the development of character, in the Brahmacārin was aimed at seen from the celebrated ' Gāyatrī verse (111, 62, 10) ' . Thus recitation of vedic Texts was cultivated as an art by itself. A great value and potency attached to the very sounds of letters and syllables by which the sacred words were uttered. Such utterance was not left to mere natural or individual pronunciation but was artificially regulated by metres. Thus the first step in R̥gvedic education was correct recitation of the Text taught. The words of Vedic mantras must be recited in the prescribed manner to achieve their full fruit. Mere recitation of the texts in the order prescribed has a spiritual efficacy of its own. Thus the recitation of Mantras has a mystical use by itself. A spiritual benefit flows from the observance of the strict order of words of the recited.

R̥gvedic education, however, was not confined to mere learning by rote and sacred texts. The contemplation and comprehension of their meaning was considered as more important and vital to education than their mere mechanical recitation and correct pronunciation. The R̥gveda has several significant passages condemning and holding-up to ridicule those whose knowledge is confined only to the recitation of its words without insight into their meaning, and emphasizing the supreme need of realizing that meaning by constant and concentrated contemplation.

Briefly speaking, the system of education represented in the R̥gveda thus concerns only the acquisition of the highest knowledge and saving wisdom and not of ordinary secular knowledge or intermediate truth for purposes of worldly life. The method of this learning is determined by its aims and contents. The method of attaining the knowledge of the absolute, "Prabrahma jñāna" is not the method of acquiring a knowledge of the objective sciences, arts and crafts. It is the method of realisation of the highest and ultimate truths called R̥ta and Satya by inhibition of the senses and the objective, the method of meditation (dhyāna). In a R̥gvedic passage, Tapas is described in a literal sense as "the most radiant effulgence coming from the highest knowledge",

Vratācār and Upanayana :

We get in the R̥gveda glimpses of an educational system which comprised the small domestic school run by a teacher who admitted to his instruction resident pupils. These had to live with him under prescribed disciplines or vows as "vratacārīs". The word "Brahmacārīn" in the technical sense of a "religious student" in X, 109, 5. The father was not rarely as a teacher, his son taking lessons from him along with a few neighbouring students. In the R̥gveda, there is no explicit reference to the ceremony of Upanayana or Initiation (lit., the drawing near or leading forth of a boy for study under a teacher) which is regarded as of much great importance in later days.

Brahmana Saṅgha :

The highest stage of education is represented in what are called the Brāhmaṇa Saṅghas, the Assemblies

or Academies where the successful students flocked for the advancement of knowledge by discussing their respective contributions to it. The Brāhmaṇa Saṅgha was an organisation where meritorious students were given chances to fulfil their quest of higher knowledge. These Saṅghas may be compared to the seminars of the modern times as they had all the qualities of these seminars. Thus the Conference method for the promotion and diffusion of learning, the method of discussion in seminars and academies, was first evolved in India, as evidenced by the R̥gveda.

No Caste rigidity in Education :

The caste-system is known to the R̥gveda, but it was not known to it in all the rigidity and elaborations marking it in later times. Though the Ṛṣis or Seers mentioned above were generally Brahmins, it was not exclusively so. Supreme knowledge was not confined to caste and did not go by birth but by inner worth achieved by tapas. The R̥gveda Saṃhitā mentions names of several Kṣatriya Ṛṣis such as Ambarīṣa, Trasadasyu, Aśva-medha, Purumilha, Ajamilha, Sindhudvīpa, etc. A solemn religious recognition is given in the famous puruṣasūkta of R̥gveda where the Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya, the Vaiśya and the Śūdra are described as limbs of the Creator. The equality of man is seen in the sphere of culture evidenced by the R̥gveda. The author of Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, Mahidāsa, had a Śūdra mother, while the Ṛṣi Kavaṣa, was born of a Dāsī, according to that work (viii, 1). The R̥gveda tells of five peoples who offered sacrifice to Agni (X, 45, 5) and these five included four castes and niṣādas of low origin. The Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā states that " all classes have an equal right to study the Veda ". The education was free to every one. There is mention of such families in which the father is Vaiśya, the son

vedic poet, and mother is a labour doing grinding, Thus it is clear that the members of all the castes were free to gain higher education and these statements are supported even by the Yajurveda.

Woman education :

In the Vedic period women were admitted to full religious rites and consequently to complete educational facilities. The wife was a regular participator in the sacrificial offerings of the husband. Women sages were called ^{vā}Ṛṣikās and Brahmadīnis. If girls were looked after and educated in the same way as the boys and many amongst them gained highest education and were called Brahmadīnī and achieved the status Ṛṣikā some of the women were regarded as Devis and even composed hymns. The Rgveda knows of the followings Ṛṣikās or Brahmadīnis, viz., Lopāmudrā, Romaśā, Apālā, Viśvavara, Kadru, and several other mentioned in the tenth Maṇḍala, such as Paulomī, Sāvitṛī, Jaritā, Ghoṣā, and so on.

The Brahmadīnis were the products of the educational discipline of brahmacharya for which women also were eligible. Rgveda⁶ refers to young girls completing their education as brahmacharinis and then gaining husbands in whom they are merged like rivers in Oceans. Rgveda⁷ mentions unmarried learned and young daughters who should be married to learned bridegrooms. Yajurved (viii, 1) similarly states that a daughter, who has completed her brahmacharya, should be married to one who is learned like her. The Atharvaveda (XI, 6) also refers to maidens qualifying by their brahmacharya, the disciplined life of studentship, for married life in the aśrama.

SECULAR LEARNING :

Rgvedic education was not confined to religion only of the people though it was mainly religious and literary in its character. There must have been a considerable amount of secular or non-religious education to build up its economic life. It is known for its progress in all departments of national life, economic, political or religious, its progress in the various arts and Crafts of civilized life, in Agriculture, Industry and trade. The Rgveda hardly furnishes any direct evidence on such education, but a glimpse of it may be found. In a hymn in the Rgveda⁸ we find a graphic picture of the realities of life. Even the R̥ṣi-head of a family could not secure that all the members of his family should tend towards ṛṣihood. The mother of a R̥ṣi happens to be a literate lady who behaves like a good housewife, grinding corn, while his father goes about curing persons of their physical illness and that for the sake of earning his family's livelihood. In the body of the Rgveda there are scattered references to the diverse economic pursuits of the times betokening a diffusion of industrial education in the country. There was considerable progress in pasture, cattle-rearing and agriculture. The plough was drawn by oxen, There was use of manure. The weaver (Vāya) was quite prominent, as R̥gVedic India was advanced in Textiles and so on. All this economic progress was built up by the talent and training produced by Schools of craftsmanship, the existence of which we can only infer in the absence of any direct evidence from the Rgveda.

COURSES OF STUDY :

The courses of study in Vedic period

as stated above were not limited to religion only. Disciples were also taught the Grammar. Generally the study of Sikṣā, Kalpa, Vyākaraṇa, Nirukta, Chanda and Jyotiṣa were taught in Vedic period. These six are known as Ṣaḍaṅga-Veda or Vedāṅgas, i.e. the Veda of six limbs. There are subsidiary studies along with the R̥gveda. Although these subjects are now extant in the forms of Sūtras belonging to a much later age. Their origins must be found in the age of the R̥gveda. As the Veda was learnt by recitation and proper pronunciation, it was first necessary to learn the science of Sikṣā. The word Sikṣā is from the root Sikṣ, to give. The Preceptor (guru) was giving the Veda to his pupil by uttering it. Therefore, a knowledge of Sikṣa was preliminary to study of Veda, the mastery of which depended upon its proper pronunciation and recitation. Just as the Veda was recited according to the rules of Sikṣā, Yajña according to the rules the second Vedāṅga called Kalpa. Similarly Vyākaraṇa and Nirukas had also to be studied as aids to the comprehension of the meaning of the vedic text and chanda must have been regarded as preliminary to Vedic Chanting. The rules of poetical composition, of verification and metre had to be mastered. Lastly, a study of Jyotiṣa gave an insight into unchanging and regular laws of nature and kindled the scientific spirit in that age.

The Yajurved fixed the religious scheme and ordering of Hindu life in the course of ceremonies it prescribes. The contents of the Yajurveda show how it gave impetus to the development of new subjects of study, both religious and secular. The need of correct pronunciation of hymns by the Hotṛ priest laid the beginnings of subjects like sikṣā (phonetics and Chandas (metrics) treated vedāṅgas (parts of

vedic study) and of the *Praśisākhya* literature. The Yajurveda contains a reference to an established system of studentship. It states that man owes three debts which he must repay in three prescribed ways, viz., in the debts to Ṛsis to be repaid by brahmacharya by which he is to acquire and spread the knowledge he inherits from the Ṛsis (2) The debt to gods by Yajnas (sacrifices) to realize his kinship with the spiritual world (of gods); and (3) the debt to ancestors by fatherhood to continue the family in which he is born. The debt to Ṛsis is the debt which one owes to learning in the shape of his cultural heritage. Such an obligation he can only discharge by making his own contribution to learning, which he can achieve only the basis of brahmacharya. About the education in the Atharvaveda Dr. R.K. Mukherji says, " In ancient India, the system of education was fixed and standardized on the basis of certain universally admitted and established ideals and practices connected by the term Brahmacharya. The Atharvaveda is the only Veda which directly extols, exalts and expounds this fundamental system and institution of Brahmacharya which forms the foundation of the entire structure of Hindu thought and life. Subjects and courses of study may vary, but the system of education, its methods of training and discipline, must remain the same under all conditions. Studentship in ancient India was evolved into a science or an art of life which did not admit of any change according to age or clime but was taken to be a universal validity."

The Atharvaveda⁹ contains a separate long hymn describing this system of studentship. The pupil enters upon his stage of studentship through the performance of the

ceremony of institution called Upanayana by his chosen teacher called Ācārya. The ceremony takes three days during which the teacher holds within him the pupil to impart to him a new birth and regenerated life whence the pupil emerges ' dvija ' or twice-born. His first birth he owes to his parents who gave him only his body. It is a mere physical birth, his second birth is spiritual. It unfolds his mind and soul. After this Upanayana, the pupil emerges as a Brahmaçārī, a new and changed person both externally and internally. " His dress and other external marks are quite distinct from other. He is also distinguished by some inner attributes and disciplines like self restraint (ārama), practice of penance (tapas), consecration to a life of discipline through prescribed regulations (dīkṣā). The Ācārya or preceptor is sustained by the devoted disciple performing faithfully his prescribed duties. Besides, the special hymn in praise of the Brahmachari, the Atharvaveda contains a few other passages on the life and as a system of discipline.

Lastly, in connection with the prayer for non-interruption of study, it is interesting to note the holidays observed in these Vedic Schools on occasions of cloudy or windy weather. *(Ancient Indian Education, p. 69).*

Education in Post-Vedic Brahmanic Period :

Brāhmaṇas :

We shall now study education in the light of the data furnished by the vast body of post-vedic literature, comprising what are called the Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads and Sūtras. It may be said that Indian education reached its climax and achieved the degree of efficiency and success in this period when it could produce a literature like the Upaniṣads which are universally admitted to record the utmost possibilities of human speculation regarding some of the ultimate problems of life and metaphysical mysteries. The R̥gveda Samhitā presents the two aspects of religion, the aspect of thought, Philosophy, Meditation and concentration (Tapas) and the practical aspect of religion as exemplified in external worship of individual deities by means of Yajñas or sacrifices. The first aspect is distinguished as jñāna-kāṇḍa and the second karma-kāṇḍa. The karma-kāṇḍa, the practical needs of worship, called for the growth of priesthood and its necessary texts, the two Vedic Samhitās of Sāma and Yajur. Religion now began to centre more and more elaborated and called for suitable texts by which he could be regulated, fixed and conserved. This explains the emergence of new type of literature, the Brāhmaṇas, which is unique in the annals of literature. The Brāhmaṇas are works that deal with brahma, i.e. devotion and prayer and are of the nature of text books for rituals or treatises on the ' Science of Sacrifice '. Their main purpose is to explain the relations between the Vedic texts and their corresponding ceremonial and also to explain their symbolical meaning with

reference to each other. Brāhmaṇa books are second to Vedas and consist of the methods of rituals and meanings of the Mantras. They deal with the performances of various methods of different, rituals called 'Vidhi'. The extent Brāhmaṇa group themselves round the several Vedas which thus determine their subject matter. Thus the Brāhmaṇas of Rgveda such as Aitareya and Kauṣītaki only such explanations of the rituals as are needed by the Hotṛ priest in his task of collecting from the total body of the hymns the verses suited to each particular occasion as its śāstra. The Brāhmaṇas of the Sāmaveda such as Tāṇḍya, Chāṇogya, Tālavakara, and of the Yajurveda such as Taittirīya, Śatapatha, etc., confine themselves to the duties of the Udgātṛ and Adhvaryu priest.

The Brāhmaṇa literature is vast and varied, but also dry and repulsive excepting where, leaving their proper subject which is mystical and puerile speculation on ritual practices, the Brāhmaṇa authors cite illustrative examples from social life, invent aetiological myths to serve as the basic principle to all imaginable concrete facts, or simply narrate mythological or semi-historical stories sometimes in the form of ballad. The Brāhmaṇa texts are written mainly in Sanskrit prose. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa show fully developed literary style.

Āraṇyakas :

The Āraṇyakas (" Forest-Texts "), the concluding portions of, or appendices to, the Brāhmaṇas, are so called because their contents are of so secret and uncanny

a nature that they would spell danger if taught to the uninitiated, and had, therefore, to be learnt in the forest and not in the villages. They are concerned neither with the performance nor with any explanation of the sacrifice, but with its mysticism and symbolism. They form a natural transition to the Upaniṣads, the oldest of which are either included in or appended to the Āraṇyakas, the line of demarcation being not always easy to draw

The Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads by themselves, and not the system of Philosophy based on them, were originally called " Vedānta " (Literally, the concluding portions of the Veda) - a title applicable to them in more senses than one as follows :-

(1) From the point of view of relative literary chronology, they stand at the end of the Veda. (2) As the most obtruse and mystical of the Śruti works, they were naturally taught to the pupil towards the close of the period of his apprenticeship with his Guru. They formed the end of the daily Vedic-recital.

As component (and concluding) parts of the Brāhmaṇas, the Āraṇyakas (and some Upaniṣads) are found attached to as many Śākhās (Vedic schools) as the Brāhmaṇas belong to. The Aitareya Āraṇyaka is appended to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa of the R̥gveda. It consists of five books which are looked upon and designated as five separate Āraṇyakas. The first deals with the Soma sacrifice from the ritual point of view. The second is intermixed with theosophical speculations on Prāṇa and puruṣa, and is Upaniṣadic in character, the last four chapters

actually forming the Aitareya Upaniṣad. The third book contains allegorical and mystical meanings of the Samhitā, Pada, and Krama texts (Pāthas). The last two books contain miscellaneous matter, such as Mahanāmī verses and details about the Nis̐kevalya Śāstra, to be recited in the Mahāvratā, and are attributed to Aśvalāyana and Saunaka—two Sūtras authors. The Sāṅkhayana or Kauṣītaki Āraṇyaka is the concluding portion of the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa of the R̥gveda and agrees very closely with the Aitareya Āraṇyaka in its contents. It consists of fifteen chapters of which 3 to 6 constitute the long and important Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad. In the black Yajurveda, the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka is only a continuation of the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa. It consists of ten chapters or Prapāṭhakas (commonly called Arāṇas), 7 to 9 constituting the important Taittirīya Upaniṣad. The tenth chapter called Mahanārāyana Upaniṣad is a very late addition to the Āraṇyaka. In the white Yajurveda the fourteenth book of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa is in name only an Āraṇyaka—the Brhadāraṇyaka — the last six chapters of which constitute the celebrated Upaniṣad of the name and the major part of the so-called Āraṇyaka.

For the Sāmaveda, the only Āraṇyakas are the first Āraṇyak-like section of the Chāndogya Upaniṣad, which belongs probably to the Tāṇḍya-Maṇḍa-Brāhmaṇa and the Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa which is nothing but an Āraṇyaka of the Jaiminīya or Tālavakara school of the Sāmaveda and comprises the well-known Kena (or Tālavakara) Upaniṣad.

It is not necessary to discuss here the contents of the Āraṇyakas.

The Upaniṣads :

The word ' Upaniṣad ' is derived from

the root "Upa-ni-sad" which means "to sit down near some one." This no doubt refers to the pupils sitting down near his teacher at the time of instruction. The prefix "upa" may also be taken to connote the pupil's "approaching" the teacher to request him to impart his doctrine. The word in course of time gathered round it the sense of secret communication or doctrine which was imparted at such sittings. Later on the word also came to be applied to the texts which incorporated such doctrines.

The number of treatises called Upaniṣads as the others. The oldest Upaniṣads are partly included in the Aranyakas or the "forest texts" and partly appended to them. As a branch of Vedic literature even these texts are regarded as "breathed out" by Brahman and only "visioned" by the Vedic seers. The Upaniṣads are usually called Vedānta, or "the end of the Veda", not only because they came at the end of the Vedic period, or that they were taught at the end of Vedic instruction, but also because the later philosophers found in them the final aim of the Veda.

Some of the Upaniṣadic texts in fact from the component parts of the Brāhmaṇas. These are the Aitareya Upaniṣad, the Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad, the Taittirīya Upaniṣad, the Mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad, the Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad, the Chāndogya Upaniṣad, and the Kena Upaniṣad. All these Upaniṣads, with the exception of only the Mahānārāyaṇa and Upaniṣad, belong to the earliest stage in the development of the texts. They are very much akin to the prose of the Brāhmaṇas and are certainly older than Buddha and Pāṇini.

The second category of the Upaniṣads represents a slightly later stage, but even these are

pre-Buddhistic. They distinguish themselves from the first category in their form which is mostly or entirely metrical. Then, these texts have very often come down to us independent texts. To this category belong the Katha, the Śvetāśvatara, the Mahāndrāyana, the Īśa, the Muṇḍaka and the Prasna Upaniṣads. Though these texts also expound the vedānta doctrine, they are not altogether free from Sāṅkhya and Yoga view-points.

The Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad which is attributed to a school of the black Yajurveda and the Maṇḍūkya Upaniṣad of the Atharvaveda belong to the post-Buddhistic period. Their language, style, and contents show a later origin, and the great philosopher Śaṅkara does not mention them. But due to their connection with certain Vedic schools they may be styled, together with the twelve mentioned above, as Vedic Upaniṣads.

The Principal contents of the Upaniṣads, at any rate of the more important among them, are philosophical speculations. The philosophers of the Upaniṣads are actively interested in an earnest enquiry into the ultimate truth which lies behind the world of creation. They have variously expressed their findings in the identity of Brahman that highest principles which manifest itself in the motley creation and which receives all things back at the time of dissolution - and Ātman which is the individual self. This pointedly recorded in the famous dictum of identity " taṁ Tvam asi " where " at ", meaning " that ", stands for Brahman, and through it the universe and " tvam ", meaning " though ", for Ātman or the individual self.

The Sūtras :

The word sūtra, by which a special class of literature is designated, ordinarily means " a thread ".

Secondarily it denotes that type of literature which is made up of short sentences running through a topic like a thread. A Sūtra has thus come to mean a short rule, in a few words as possible, giving a clue to the learning stored in a particular topic forming part of a particular book. Both by their form and object the Sūtras form a class by themselves. The system of oral instruction which formed the basis of education in those days very probably necessitated this peculiar fashion of summarizing the entire exposition to help its easy memorizing. It is also not improbable that the intricacies of Vedic ritual, which were to be scrupulously observed in every small detail, contributed to a certain extent to the development of this form of literature. If, therefore, a non-initiate finds here clarity sacrificed at the altar of brevity, it is only natural. But the definition of a Sūtra clearly says that a sūtra should be brief in form but at the same time unambiguous in its meaning.

The class of literature which comes under this head does not form part of the Vedic literature, but is in close association with it. It is not the Veda, a divine revelation, but the Vedāṅga, "the limbs of the Veda", constituting works of human authorship. Though these Vedāṅgas include a number of exegetical science like Śikṣā (Phonetics), Kalpa (ritual), Vyākaraṇa (grammar), Nirukta (etymology), Chandas (metrics), and Jyotiṣa (astronomy), all of them have not come down to us in the Sūtra style. These six vedāṅgas refer to the six subjects that help the proper understanding, recitation, and the sacrificial use of the Vedas. Taken as a whole, therefore, the Sūtra form of literature is post-vedic, as is also shown by its language. In contents, however, they may be traced back to the

period of the Brāhmaṇas which occasionally deal with etymology, grammar and astronomy along side the ritual. Though some of the exemplars of this literary activity are later in date, the period which typifies this aphoristic literature may be taken to be Pre-Buddhistic. The Śrūta Sūtras, a continuation of the Brāhmaṇas on their ritual sides, as the Upaniṣads are on their speculative side. The rites they deal with are never congregational but are always performed on behalf of a single individual called Yajamāna (Sacrificer). The second branch of ritual Sūtras are the Gṛhya Sūtras treating of numerous ceremonies applicable to the domestic life of a man and his family from birth to death. Since these lay outside the scope of the Brāhmaṇas, the authors of the Gṛhya Sūtras had to rely on popular tradition in dealing with observance of daily life. The third branch of the Sūtra literature of Smṛti, are the Dharma Sūtras which deal with the customs of daily life (Sāmyacārika) and are thus our earliest legal literature. There is lastly a division of the Sūtras called the Śulva Sūtras connected with religious practice they are practical manuals giving the measurement necessary for the construction of the vedi, of the altars and so forth. They show quite an advanced knowledge of geometry and constitute the oldest Indian mathematical works (Macdonnell, Sans, Lit. p. 264).

Though some of the exemplars of this literary activity are in date, the period which typifies this aphoristic literature may be taken to be pre-Buddhistic "- The Vedic Age, p. 472.

Education in Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas, Upaniṣads and Sūtras :

With the development and elaboration of the institution of the sacrifices and the growth of a vast

literature connected with it, the problem of the preservation of this literature became very acute, particularly because during the age under discussion the whole of it (the Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas, including the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads appended to them) was looked upon as Śruti or revealed literature. The Vedic literature must therefore have formed the chief subject of instruction and the vital part of education. Naturally, then, the process of imparting the knowledge of the sacred hymnology and sacrificial ritual must have become more and more systematized during this age. Literary education was transmitted only orally, i.e. by word of mouth from teacher to pupil. We find an echo of this system in the famous frog-hymn of the R̥gveda, quoted above. The art of writing was very probably known to the vedic Indians, but that it played no part in the educational system of ancient India is accepted by all.

The Atharvaveda (X1.5) refers to a brahmaçārin (Vedic student) gathering sacred, fuel for fire-worship and bringing alms (begged from door to door) to the teacher. There are also prayers in the Atharvaveda for liturgical employment at the ceremony of Initiation (Upanayana). Svādhyāya or the daily portion or lesson of Vedic study is referred to in the Saṃhitās of the Yajurveda. In the Kāthaka Saṃhitā, a rite for the benefit of one who, though not a Brāhmaṇa, has recited or studied the vidyā, is mentioned, and the well-known fact that Kṣatriya kings like Janaka were not only keen students of the Vedas, but also great philosophers renders it almost certain that members of the Kṣatriya and Vaiśya castes received the sacrament of the Upanayana and went through part (at least) of



the period of studentship, although normally the ⁱKṣatriya would study the art of war. Vedic study, service to the teacher, and chastity detailed description of the Upanayana as a sacrament (saṃs-kāra) in the Śatpatha Brāhmaṇa¹⁰ includes all the essential features of the same sacrament and life of studentship which are treated at length in the Gṛhya-sūtras, such as : (1) The formal acceptance of the pupil by the teacher at the request of the former ; (2) the entrusting of the pupil to the care of certain duties ; (3) the vows and duties to be discharged by the pupil while residing at the house of the Guru, such as, putting fuel on the fire, sipping water, and begging alms ; (4) the dress of the pupil consisting of the ajina, the girdle, etc. The description of young Aṅgīrasa teaching his elders, in the Tāndya Brāhmaṇa¹¹ and the stories of Nābhānediṣṭha and Bhāradvāja in the Aitareya and Taittirīya Brāhmaṇas, give us a vivid picture of the educational system of those days, with its insistence on truthfulness, observance of duty (dharma), devotion to the ācārya or Guru (Preceptor) and to one's parents, hospitality faith and generosity. The Taittirīya Āraṇyaka even anticipates some minute directions of the type given in the Gṛhya-sūtras, such as, the pupil should not run while it is raining, nor urinate in water, nor bathe naked, etc.

Women probably took part in the intellectual life of the society, but we have no such definite reference in the later Saṃhitā and Brāhmaṇa texts¹² as we get in the Upaniṣads. From the Taittirīya Saṃhitā¹², the Upaniṣads. From the Taittirīya Saṃhitā, the Maitrāyāṇī Saṃhitā¹³ and the Śatpatha Brāhmaṇa we know that women were taught to dance and to sing which appear to be recognized feminine accomplishments.

Among subjects of study figured arithmetic, grammar, and prosody (Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa) Language was obviously an important subject of study,

There was then no system of state education. The Brāhmaṇa teachers taught students of the three higher castes at their houses, giving them free board and lodging. In return, the pupils served the teacher and gave him fees (Gu-ru dakṣiṇā). That the education in this home University was not merely literary, but also included physical and moral training, is seen from the hard daily routine of the pupil and the code of moral conduct prescribed for him, while residing with the teacher.

The existence of Vedic Schools in this age, that is, even before the establishment of Sūtra-Caraṇas, is clear evidence that even in these early times, centres, of Vedic learning presided over by a celebrated Vedic teacher were scattered ^{all} over the country. The Sāmaveda Sūtras refer to Brāhmaṇa-caraṇas (Schools) and as many as fifteen caraṇas of the Vājasaneyins are known including the Kanava and Madhyamdina ones that have survived. The only Saṃhitā-caraṇas known are those of the Baskalas and Sakalas for the R̥gveda Saṃhitā. The separate Saṃhitā and Brāhmaṇa-caraṇas originated owing to a difference in the texts of the Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas respectively.

It is important to note that numerous Vedic Schools existed all over the country. The example of the assembly of the learned in the Court of Janaka shows that debates (philosophical and literary) were often held under royal auspices.

The Upaniṣads are a living testimony to the high intellectual attainments of the Age. The stories of Śvetaketu Āruṇeya and Satykāma, Jabāla in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad

and the well known passage in the Taittirīya Upaniṣad (1, 11) containing instruction (anuśāsana) given to the student at the end of his studies show that the educational system maintained the high standard and lofty ideals of the preceeding age. Some special features of the educational system are prominently brought out in the Upaniṣads. We find, for instance, that the highest position in society yielded to the highest position in society is willingly yielded to the intellectual aristocracy. Kṣatriya kings like Janaka were famous for their learning, and respect was paid to them by all including the Brahmanas. There are many instances on record where even the Brāhmaṇas learned the sacred knowledge, particularly philosophy from the Kṣatriyas. The story Āruṇi, in the Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad shows that even old men became pupils. But the most pleasing feature is the frequent reference to women teachers, many of whom possessed the highest spiritual knowledge. The famous dialogues between Yājñavalkya and his wife Maitreyī¹⁴ and spiritual attainments to which a woman could rise. The stories of these noble and gifted ladies stand in sad contrast to the later age when even the study of Vedic literature was forbidden to women under the most severe penalty.

The Upaniṣads contain several lists of subjects of study, and these give us a good idea of the wide range of knowledge in those days. One such list mentions not only Veda, Itihāsa, Purāṇa, and spiritual knowledge (Brahma-Vidyā), but also grammar, mathematics (Rāsi), chronology (Nidhi), dialectics (Vākavākya), ethics (Ekāyana), astronomy, military science, science of snakes, and knowledge of portents (Daiva). There are a few more branches of knowledge mentioned in this list whose

exact scope or nature cannot be defined, such as pitrya (Science regulating to the manes), Deva-vidyā (etymological interpretation of divine names, or knowledge of gods), Bhūta-vidyā (demonology or science of elements), and Davajanavidyā (dancing and music or mythology). It is extremely unfortunate that we have no texts preserved regarding many of these subjects. But the list shows how a very comprehensive view of education was developed at the close of the Vedic age. It also demonstrates that the six subject comprised in Vedāṅgas formed only a small portion of the curriculum of study, and not the whole of it, as is popularly believed.

Svādhyāya

(System of Education) :

Education was not yet regarded as an end in itself but only as a means to an end, viz., the attainment of Brahmavarcasa, i.e. sacred knowledge or knowledge of the Absolute. This is pointed out in numerous passages of Vedic literature. The performance of sacrifice, of specific ritual acts is also mentioned as means to this end of spiritual development but more stress is laid upon the study of the sacred texts. Indeed, the importance of such study is repeatedly insisted upon, for which the technical name Svādhyāya is applied. The efficacy of Svādhyāya is pointed out by the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa which regards it as a form of sacrifice to the Brahman by which an imperishable world is gained¹⁵. It is also pointed out that by the study and teaching of Veda, one becomes calm in mind independent of others, the best physician for himself, with his restraint of the senses, uniformity of mental attitude, growth of intelligence, fame and

the power of perfecting the people (ibid,7,1).The Taittiriya Āraṇyaka (11, 9-15) also regards Svādhyāya as brahmayajña or sacrifice of devotion and lays down certain as to the exact place and time of study. In times of difficulties the study may be carried on in the town or village during the day or night according to convenience. In that case there should be no loud repetition of the texts. In the afternoon one should recite more. When he returns home he is to make a gift. For this kind of study by one's own self without the aid of a teacher there is no svādhyāya or prohibition of study except when one is unclean in body or is in an unclean place.

Need of Teacher :

The necessity of self-study did not preclude that of the student finding a teacher for himself. The futility of mere self-study is always recognized. The teacher is represented as indispensable to knowledge in Kāṭha-Upaniṣad (11, 8). " Apart from the teacher, there is no access here ". Similarly, the Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad (1,2,3) : " Let him, in order to understand this, take fuel in his hand and approach a Guru is learned and dwells entirely in Brahman. " Again (111,2,3.) " Not by self-study is the atman realized, not by mental power , nor by amassing much information. " A Teacher is regarded as necessary to disperse the mist of empirically acquired knowledge from our eyes the ¹⁶Chāndogya Upaniṣad states : " A father may therefore tell that doctrine (i.e. the doctrine of Brahman as the sum of the Universe) to his eldest son, or to a worthy pupil. But no one should tell it to anybody else, even if he gave him the whole sea-girt earth, full of treasure. The Chāndogya Upaniṣad (VI11)

relates how Indra himself was obliged to live with Prajāpati as a pupil for 101 years in order to obtain the perfect instruction. In the Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad (1,1) Āruṇi takes fuel in his hand becomes a pupil of Citra Gangyayānī. In the Br̥hadāraṇyaka (11,1,14) Gargya says to Ajataśatru : " Then let me come to you as a pupil, " " In the Pras̥na-Upaniṣad (1.1) Suketsa, Satyakāma, Śauryayanin, Kauśalya, Vaidarbhi, and Kabandhin take fuel in their hands to become pupils of Pippalāda.

Admission to Studentship :

Studentship is normally inaugurated by the ceremony of Upanayana or initiation, the significance of which is most beautifully set forth in the Atharvaveda in the passage already explained. The spiritual significance of the details of the Upanayana ceremony is also indicated in the Śatapatha Br̥hmaṇṣa¹⁷. " The teacher lays his right hand on the head of the pupil whereby he becomes pregnant with him (tena garbhībhavati) and then in the third night the embryo issues out of the teacher and being taught the Sāvitrī obtains true Br̥hmaṇhood. " In the Śatapatha¹⁸ (X1,5,4,1) the student has to say formally : " May I enter upon brahmacarya ", and " Let me be a Brahmacārin ". The student has also to take the fuel in his hand as a token that he is willing to serve the teacher, and especially to maintain the sacred fires¹⁹. Before receiving him, the teacher makes inquiry into his birth and family. Satyakāma Jabālā going to Gautama Haridrumata said to him : " I wish to become a Brahmacārin with you, Sir, May I come to you, Sir ? " He said to him : " Of what family are you, my friend ? " The manner of the inquiry shows that it was made in a very indulgent fashion and the uncertainty regarding his parentage was not in actual practice

admitted as a bar to the teacher's acceptance of the pupil (Chāndogya 1v,4,4,). In the Śaṭpatha (X1,5), similarly, the teacher merely asks the name of the intending pupil and then accepts him.

Period of Studentship :

The period of studentship was normally fixed at twelve years. Śvetaketu returned home after spending twelve years with his preceptor.¹⁹ Upakosala Kāmalāyana " dwelt as a Brahmacharin in the house of Satyakāma Jabālā and tended his fires for twelve years " (ib., 1v, 10, 1). There also seem to have been longer terms than twelve years. Satyakāma Jabālā spent " a series of years " with his preceptor during which " four hundred cows had become a thousand " (1v, 4, 5). The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa²⁰ tells of : a student named Nabhanediṣṭha who had been absent from home on brahmacharya under his teacher for such a long time that his father divided up his property among his other sons in the meanwhile. Studentship for thirty-two years is also mentioned and also for 101 years.²¹

The age at which such studentship commenced is indicated in the case of Śvetaketu who " began his apprenticeship with a teacher when he was twelve years of age."²²

Duties of the teacher :

The teacher is to possess the highest moral and spiritual qualifications. This Truth is not grasped when taught by an inferior man,²³ "says the Kāṭha Upaniṣad. The Muṇḍaka (1, 2, 12) requires^{him} to be well versed in the sacred lore (śōtriya) and dwelling entirely in the Brahman. He must have a

conviction based upon realization of the Unity on which he is to enlighten his pupils ; Otherwise it would be like the blind leading the blind.

It is the duty of the teacher, when a fit pupil approaches him, to teach him the truth correctly as he knows it²⁴ without concealing anything from him, for such concealment would spell ruin to him (Praśna, vi, 1) The Taittirīya Aranyaka (vii, 4) lays down that the teacher must teach with all his heart and soul. He was bound also, according to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (Xiv, 1, 1) to reveal everything to his pupil who at any rate lived with him for one whole year an expression which probably hints at possible changes of teachers by students. The teacher, however, was quite free, it must be understood, to impart to his pupil only the knowledge that he was fit for and reserve subjects to which he was not equal. There are on record certain cases of learning kept secret and revealed only to special persons in Taittirīya Brhat Aranyaka, Pravahana Jaivali and his knowledge of Brahman in Brhadāyaka Upaniṣad.²⁵

Educated Woman :

The available evidence shows that education was not denied to women. Sometimes they are found to share the intellectual interests of the day. Of the two wives of Yajnavalkya²⁶ one takes no unimportant part in the depositions on philosophical topics. Two directions given in the Aitareya Upaniṣad (11, 1) imply that elderly married women were permitted to hear Vedantic discourses. The Upaniṣads mention several other women as teachers, but it is not clear whether they are married. The Brīhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad (vi, 4, 17) mentions an interesting ritual by which a person prays for the birth to him of a daughter

who should be a paṇḍita or a learned lady. The Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa (vii,6) tells of an Aryan lady Pathyāsvasti proceeding to the north for study and obtaining the title of vak., i.e. Sarasvati by her learning. In this connection, we may note that women were taught some of the fine arts dancing and singing which and singing which were regarded as accomplishments unfit for men.

Various subjects of study :

We now proceed to consider the subjects of study and various forms of literature known and developed during this period.

As has been already indicated, the technical name for study proper, i.e. Vedic study, is Svādhyāya, the blessings of which are eloquently described in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (Xi,5,6) also Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, (11,13). Elsewhere the bliss of the learned Śrotriya or student is deemed equal to the highest joy possible.²⁷

Besides the three Vedas, there are also mentioned in several works of the period by R.K. Mukherjee²⁸ various subjects of study which may be noticed as follows :-

1. Anusāsana : which, according to Śāyana, is the name given to the six Vedāṅgas, viz., (a) Phonetics, (b) Ritualistic Knowledge (Kalpa), (c) Grammar, (d) Exegetics, (e) Metrics. (f) Astronomy.
2. Vidya : which, according to Śāyana, means the philosophical systems of Nyāya, Mīmāṃsā, etc.
3. Vākovākyam, apparently, some special theological discourse or discourses, similar to (if not identical with the numerous Brahmodya disputations on spiritual matters.

4. Itihāsa-Purāṇa-Both are first mentioned in the Atharvaveda. Itihāsa singly is mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, Jaiminīya, Brīhadāraṇyaka, and Chāndogya Upaniṣads. In the latter it makes up with Purāṇa the fifth Veda, while the Śatapatha in one passage identifies both with the Veda. The distinction between the two is not clear.
5. Ākhyāna. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa we have the Śaunahśepa Ākhyāna related at the Rājasūya (VII,18,10) and also the Ākhyānavids who tell the Sauparna legend (III,25,1) which is called a Vyākhyāna in the Śatapatha (III,6,2,7).
Stories used at the Agvamedha during the year of the horse's wandering belong to the series called Cylic.
6. Anvākhyāna, literally " after-story ", and hence supplementary narrative. In two of its uses, however, in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, it merely indicates a subsequent portion of the book, while in the third passage it is distinguished from Itihāsa proper.
7. Anuvyākhyāna (glosses) is a species of writing referred to in the Brīhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad which Śaṅkara interprets as " explanation of the Mantras ".
8. Vyākhyāna used in the sense of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa but in another passage of the latter it means only a " narrative " e.g. that of the dispute of Kadru and Suparṇī. Śaṅkara connects it with Sūtras and Anuvyākhyāna with Mantras or ślokas.
9. Gāthā, a R̥gvedic term meaning " Song or Verse " in one place is classed with Nārāsaṃsī and Raibhīḥ. The Aitareya Āraṇyaka regards it as a form of verse with Rik, Kumbyā, while the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa regards Rik as divine and Gāthā, human. Several Gāthās epitomizing the sacrifices of famous kings

- are preserved in the Śatpatha, some of which are of the nature of Dānastutis or praises of gifts like Nārāśaṃsī verses as defined in the Br̥haddevatā (iii¹⁵) Śāyana identifies the two but refers to the other view that Gāthās are verses like that about " the great snake driven from the lake ".
10. Nārāśaṃsī occurs first in the Ṛgveda (x, 85); and is distinguished from Gāthā in later works.
 11. Br̥hamaṇa, " religious explanation ".
 12. Kṣhatravidyā, the Science of the ruling class, is mentioned in the Chāndogya Upaniṣhad (viii, 1, 2, 4).
 13. Rāśī is explained by Śāṅkara as Gaṇitam, Science of numbers or arithmetic.
 14. Nakṣatra - Vidyā, the science of the lunar mansions, astronomy, is mentioned with other science in the Chāndogya (ib.) which Śāṅkara explains as Jyotiṣham.
 15. Bhūtṭya-Vidyā, the Science of creature that trouble men and of the means of warding them off, and hence it may be "demonology". It is also one of the sciences mentioned in the Chāndogya (ib.).
 16. Sarpa-Vidyā, the science of snakes, is mentioned in the Chāndogya as well as the Śatapatha Br̥hamaṇa (xiii).
 17. Atharvāṅgirassh, is the collective name of the Atharvaveda in some of the Br̥hamaṇas.
 18. Daiva appears in the list of Sciences in the Chāndogya Upaniṣhad where Śāṅkara explains it as Utpātajñāna, the knowledge of portents.
 19. Nidhi also appears in the list of Science of the Chāndogya Upaniṣad and is taken by Śāṅkara to mean some science of divination.

20. Pitrya appears in the Chāndogya list of science and is taken by Śāṅkara to mean rituals so far as they concern the worship of the manes (Śrāddha - Kalpa).
21. Sūtra used in the Brīhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad (ii,4,10) in the sense of a book or rules for the guidance of sacrifices and so forth.
22. Upaniṣad as a class of literature is mentioned first in the Brīhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad (ii,4,10). Some of the sections of the Taittirīya Upaniṣad also ends with the words Itupaniṣad, while the Aitareya Āraṇyaka (iii,1,1) commences its third part with the title " The Upaniṣad of the Saṃhitā " which also occurs in the Sāṅkhayana Āraṇyaka (vii,2).
23. Śloka in the Brīhadāraṇyaka (ib.) is rendered by Śāṅkara as those Mantras which are to be found not in the Vedas.
24. The Veda of Vedas (Vedānām Veda) in the Chāndogya is explained by Śāṅkara to mean " Grammar of old Sanskrit ".
25. Ekāyana in the Chāndogya is explained by Śāṅkara as Nīti-śāstram, or Science of Conduct.
26. Deva-Vidyā in the Chāndogya is taken by Śāṅkara to mean Nirukta or Exegetics.
27. Brahma-Vidyā in the Chāndogya is explained by Śāṅkara to mean the Vedāṅgas of Śikṣā (Pronunciation), Kalpa (ceremonial), and Chandas (Prosody).
28. Deva-jana-vidyā, the last in the Chāndogya list of subjects of study, means, according to Śāṅkara, the arts affected by the lesser gods such as the making of perfumes.

Education of castes other than Brāhmanas :

The Kṣatriya was normally and primarily concerned with those subjects of study which would give him a training in the occupations he had to follow. In the lists of subjects of study referred to in the literature of the period those termed Kṣatratrīdyā (the science of the ruling class, of polity or administration), Ekāyana (as interpreted by Śāṅkara, viz., Nīti-Sāstram) or Dhanur-Veda were therefore suitable for the Kṣatriya. But it would appear from the evidence that the Kṣatriya had to depend upon Brahmin teachers even for instruction in those subjects while the Brahmin priest is elsewhere²⁹ represented as teaching the people (irrespective of Classes and castes) even such subjects as Sarpa-vidyā, Magic, Devajanavidyā or fine arts.³⁰

The admittedly close connection between the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas of the highest rank—the kings—rested on a community of culture and intellectual equipment. The link of connection was of course the sacrifice. The sacrifices special for kings were the Rājasūya, Vājapeya, and Aśvamedha in which they had naturally to take an active part with the offering priests and this participation implied their knowledge of the sacred lore which enabled them to utter the various Mantras used by the priests in the performance of the sacrifices.

The Vaiśya plays a singularly little part in Vedic literature which has so much to say of Kṣatriya and Brāhmaṇa. Accordingly, there is hardly any evidence to show how he was educated. And yet the definite and important part he played in the economic life of the community implies that he must have received the required training for it. Agriculture was his chief

pursuit. The goad of the plougher was the mark of a Vaiśya in life (Kāṭh Sam ., xxxvii,1) and in death (Kauśika Sūtra, lxxx). Probably the trade of the country was in his hands, for the vanij is known to the R̥gveda. He also took part in Wars under Kṣatriya leaders.

Similarly, there is but little evidence regarding the character of the education that the Śūdras received although there is much evidence pointing to the undoubted results of such education in the economic development of the Country as regards agriculture, pasture, cattle-rearing, and the numerous arts and crafts of civilized life.

Life-long Studentship :

We have now completed the consideration of the various regulations governing the life and studies of the Brahmācārī during the period of his stay at his teacher's house. But some students would elect to make the period of that stay life-long without any desire for the householder's life or the married state. Such students are known as Naiṣṭhika Brahmācārīs as distinguished from others called Upakurvanas. It is probably for these that such long periods of studentship as 24, or 36, or 48 years are meant. Those who would be house-holders would have to confine their studentship to a period of twelve years, and naturally to satisfy themselves with the mastery of a portion of the prescribed studies. There is a most interesting saying quoted by Āpastamba (1,4,13) in which the famous scholar Śvetaketu of Upaniṣadic fame is made to declare : " He who desires to study more after having settled as a householder shall dwell two months ever year with collected mind in the house of his teacher. For by

this means I studied a larger part of the Veda than before (during my studentship)". But Āpāstamba does not approve this practice because it would interfere with the duties belonging to a householder's life, though he makes the concession that it could be allowed where a graduate felt his study was not adequate, in which he could return to his teacher to complete it under prescribed discipline (ii, 2, 5).

Grades of Teacher :

There seem to have been different classes of Grades of teachers. The Ācārya is defined by Manu (ii, 140 f) to be one who initiates a pupil and teaches him the Veda, together with the Kalpa (the Sūtras referring to sacrifices), and the Rahasyas (lit. the secret portions, i.e. the Upaniṣads and their explanation or the extremely secret explanation of the Veda and Angas, not the Upaniṣads, because they are included in the term Veda). According to Gautama (i, 9-10) the title Ācārya belongs to one who initiates a pupil and teaches him the Veda. Vasiṣṭha (iii, 21), however, insists on the teaching of the whole Veda for the Ārya . One who teaches only a portion of the Veda or who teaches the Aṅgas of the Veda is to be called Upādhyāya (Sub-teacher) according to him. Manu (ii, 141 and Viṣṇu (xxix, 2) however regard the Upādhyāya as the person who teaches the aforesaid subjects " for a fee " or " for his livelihood ". The Ācārya is ten times more venerable than the Upādhyāya (Manu, ii, 145) ; he is chief among all Gurus (Gautama, ii, 50) ; he is called an Atiguru, along with father and mother (Viṣṇu, xxxi, 1-2).

Teacher's duty to Pupil in the Sūtras :

There are prescribed regulations governing the teacher's relations with, and duties towards, his pupil.

The teacher is to adopt and love the pupil as his own son so that ^a~~Budhayana~~ (~~Dharmaśāstra~~ 1,2,18) considers a teacher devoid of a natural issue as not issueless if he has a pupil. He should teach him the sacred science with whole-hearted attention without withholding from him the sacred science with whole-hearted attention without withholding from him any part of the whole Law. He is described as leading the pupil from darkness of ignorance to the light of learning (~~Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra~~, 1.,1,10,11). A teacher who neglects the instruction of his pupil ceases to be his teacher (~~Āpstamb~~,1,2,8,27). Thus, though it is the duty of the pupil to render services to the teacher to please him, the teacher must be careful to see that the pupil is not exploited for his own purposes to the detriment of his studies. Such services are meant for the pupil's own moral improvement and not solely for the economic advantages of the teacher. In times of distress, however, the teacher was permitted to accept the assistance of his pupil. (~~Āpastamba~~,ib., 24-5).

Punishment of Pupils :

These old-world teachers were against hard punishment being inflicted on their young pupils. According to Gautama, " as a rule the pupil shall not be punished corporally. If no other course is possible, he may be corrected with a thin rope or cane. If the teacher strikes him with any other instrument, he is liable to punishment by the king (i.e. under the law)" (ii,42-4). Manu (viii,299-300) allows a pupil who has committed faults to be beaten with a rope or split bamboo but only on the back part of the body, never on a noble part. The teacher who

strikes him otherwise will incur the same guilt as a thief. Gautama, as we have seen, permits bodily punishment only as the last resource, when other means of reformation fail. These other means are defined by Āpastamba to consist, first, of reproof by the teacher, and banishment from the teacher's presence. "which are to be applied according to the magnitude and leaves off sinning (i, 2, 8).

Teacher's remuneration :

We have already seen that the teacher proper who was called the Ācārya did not accept any remuneration for his work. He did the work of teaching as a matter of religious duty. The admission of a pupil was not a source of income to the teacher but an addition of a member to his family like that caused by the birth of a son. The teacher and the pupil were not connected with each other by the " cash-nexus " but by ties of spiritual relationship whereby both were repaying the debt they owed to the ~~Bṛ~~ishis by the pursuit of knowledge. Manu says that a student should not pay anything to his teacher before he finishes his education (ii, 245). A teacher teaching for fees is condemned as being guilty of a sin. The Smṛiti-Candrikā (p. 140) not merely condemns the acceptance of a fee by the teacher but also any proposal for it as a condition of the pupil's admission. The Saura Purāṇa (x, 42) condemns to hell teacher and pupil working on the basis of any fees fixed. The teacher who imparts instructions for a fee would be called an Upādhyāya. But though the Ācārya could not accept a fee from a pupil under instruction, he could accept the same from the pupil whose instruction was completed. In fact,

it was one of the obligations of the Brahmacharin to bring to a close the period of his formal pupilage by making presents to his teacher. Of course, in the majority of cases it could not be expected that such presents would be at all any adequate remuneration for the amount of labour and expense involved in supporting and educating a student for a minimum period of twelve years. It was a case, in modern parlance, of free board, lodging, medical aid, clothing and tuition given to the student during a continuous and long period exceeding a decade, the cost of which could not be properly assessed and much less paid in the shape of parting presents, especially in the case of a student of the Brahmin caste which was distinguished for its phenomenal poverty.

Education of Women :

The vedic tradition was continued as regards education of Women. The Brāhat-devatā calls the R̥gvedic women R̥shis (such as Ghosā, Romasā, Lopāmudrā, or Visvavarā) as Brahmavadinīs. Some of the Smṛiti texts understand by a Brahmavadinī a Kurmi who does not marry. Harita (xxi, 23) says : " Women are of two classes : (1) Brahmavadinī, (2) Sadyo-badhū. The former is eligible for Upanayana, Agnyadhana (Sacrifice to Fire), Veda-study, and practice of begging within the house-hold. The Sadyobadhū had only to perform Upanayana in some form before she is married." Yama also says : " In times of yore, girls were eligible for (1) Mauñjibandhana (i.e. Upanayana), (2) Study of Veda, and (3) Sāvitrī-Vachana (Use of Sāvitrī Mantra)."

The Śrauta or Gr̥hya Sūtras mention Vedic Mantras being uttered by the wife at ceremonies along with

husband (e.g.Āśvalāyana S., S.i,ii,) Gobhila (Gr̥hyS,ii,3) ;
 Āpast, xii, 3, 12; (Gr̥hyS, i, 3). Gobhila (Gr̥hyS, i, 3) states
 that the wife should be educated to be able to take part in sac-
 rifices (nahi Khalu anadhitya saknoti patnī hotumiti). Again,
 Adhikaraṇa iii of Chapter 1 of Jaimini's Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā is taken
 by Śabara Swāmi to deal with the equal rights of men and women in
 the performance of sacrifices, while Mādhavācārya (Nyāya-Mālā-
 Vistāra, P.335), commenting on same sites : " Asyaiva dhikarāṇasya
 anusarena aṣṭavarṣam brāhmaṇam upanayitatam adhyāpayita itya-
 trapi striyopi adhikārah ". " Brāhmaṇ boys of eight years are to
 be initiated and taught and the same right also belongs to girls.
 " Lastly, we may cite the statement of Hemadri that " Kumārīs, unma-
 rried girls, should be taught Vidyā and Dharmaṇiti. An educated Kum-
 ārī brings good to the families of both her father and husband.
 So, should be married to a learned husband (maṇiṣṭhi), as she is
 a Viduṣṭhi.

Non-Brahmin Teacher :

There is one other statement of Max Müller which also requires to be qualified. He says that the teach-
 ers were recruited only and exclusively from the Brāhmaṇa caste.
 Exceptions were, however, allowed to this rule. Baudhāyana (1, 2, 3)
 permits " study under a non-Brahmin teacher in time of distress".
 This is confirmed by Āpastamba (ii, 2, 5), who says that " in tim-
 es of distress a Brāhmaṇa may study under a Kṣatriya or Vaiśya "
 and also by Gautama (vii, 1). Such a non-Brahmin teacher was to
 be paid due honour by the Brāhmaṇa student throughout the long pe-
 riod of his studentship. He must ' walk behind him and obey him.'
 "(ib.). The same injunction is also given by Manu (ii, 241) ; " he

shall walk behind and serve each such a teacher, as long as the instruction lasts. " The supply of non-Brahmin teachers in the country was, of course, created by the system which freely admitted them to the Brahmanical schools and made education compulsory for all. We may in this connection recall the eminence achieved by kings and Kṣatriyas in the realm of highest knowledge of which they figure as teachers in the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads, Kings like Janaka Ajātaśatru, Aśvapati, or Jaivali, and also a significant passage in the Kathaka Saṃhitā (ix, 16), prescribing a ceremony by which a non-Brāhmaṇa who had mastered the Vedas but was not fairing well in life could achieve his due reputation and affluence (yaḥ abrahmaṇaḥ vidyamanuclyā naiva rocate sa estanschaturhotr in vyachakṣhita).

Samāvartana (Graduation) :

The studentship was brought to a close by what has been termed the Samāvartana (lit. the returning home of the student) ceremony to be performed by the pupil. It included a number of acts signifying the end of the austerities imposed upon the condition.

Development of personality :

R.K. Mukherjee opines regarding main aim of education was Development of Personality. These tests for admission during the period of his education were, no doubt, determined by the very ideals and aims of that education. We have already seen how in the scheme of this ancient education moral training. The development of the inner nature or character of the student was deemed as one of the essential objects of education.

"The value attached to this aspect of education is apparent from the following significant declaration of Manu (ii,97) in the chapter treating of the rules of studentship. " Neither the study of the Veda nor liberality nor sacrifices nor any self-imposed restraint nor austerities can ever procure the attainment of rewards to which brings gain, superiority in battles and in assemblies- and he prays that he may be loved of all , Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, Śūdras, and Kings (see Hiranyakesin, i,3,9-11). Some of the Sūtras distinguish three kinds of Snātakas (Gobhila, iii,5). " He who performs the Samāvartana ceremony after having finished the study of the Veda but before the time of his vows has expired is a vidyāsnātaka. He who performs the

Samāvartana after his vows have expired but before he has finished the study of the Veda is a Vrata-Snātaka. He who performs the Samāvartana after having finished both is Vidya-Vrata-Snātakas."

" Of these the last ranks foremost ; the two others are equal to each other. " Thus a Snātaka (One who has bathed) or a Samāvritta (One who has returned home) would be, according to modern ideas, One who had taken his degree. A homa or sacrifice was performed with a prayer that the Snātaka^{ta} will have any number of pupils to teach in his turn (Baudhāyana Gr̥hya S,ii). Then he, donned in his new robes, was to pay a visit to the local learned Assembly in a Chariot or on an elephant to be introduced to them as a full-fledged scholar by his teacher (Baudhāyana Gr̥hya S,iii,1,26 ; Āpa. Gr̥ i.S.,).

A Snātaka, however, was permitted to return to his teacher and live with him for purposes of further study for a period not exceeding four months (Baudhāyana, ii,1,46). This shows facilities for study does not end with studentship .

At the same time, studentship was not to be unduly prolonged. Baudhāyana enjoins that one must marry in youth before he grows grey hair (i,2.31). Śūkra prescribes deportation or imprisonment of persons who continue a life of asceticism and celibacy to escape from their social obligations (iv,i,105). At the time of parting, the teacher would say to Śnātaka the following valedictory words: "Apply thyself henceforth to other duties . " (Āpas., i,2,8,30). The teacher's valedictory message is given in more elaborate form in one of the Upaniṣads.

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CHAPTER - III.

Buddhist Monastic Education in Ancient India.

In ancient times the various religious orders in India had their own ideals and educational methods . They also received the active support and patronage of ruling powers like kings and chieftains and the rich bankers (sethis) of the locality and the time. The Brahmanical system of education, as already discussed, is the most ancient. It has been prevalent even to-day since the Vedic age. Here we are concerned with the Buddhist system of education which differs with that of Brahmanical system in some respects. The Buddhist monasteries were centres of learning and teaching was imparted to a collective body of pupils. Both religious and secular subjects were taught to the younger monks by the senior monks (Theras) therein. It was learned monks who carried on all the educational activities in those days. In fact, they were really the only custodians and torch-bearers of Buddhist learning and culture. They were practically no well-organised educational institutions wherein was regularly imparted excepting the Buddhist monasteries conducted by Buddhist Saṅgha. The history of Buddhist system of education is really the history of the Buddhist Saṅgha¹. We should discuss first the growth and development of the Buddhist Saṅgha.

Formation of Buddhist Saṅgha :

In Pre-Buddhist India recluship was not unknown. There were brāhmanic and non-brāhmanic recluses and paribrajakas who dwelt, or moved about in groups and there also in the forests and outskirts of Towns and Villages hermitages (āśramas) wherein lived not only those who had taken the

third and fourth āśramas of life, namely, Vanaprastha and Yati but also life-long sannyāsins with their disciples including sometimes the members of their families, male and female, who had taken the vow of braamacarya or celibacy.

In the pali Nikāyas (e.g., Majjhima Nikāya, l.p. 343-349) we find accounts referring to rich Khattiyas (Skt. Kṣatriyas) and brāhmanas, who after having their head and moustache shaven, body unbesmeared with oil and putting deerskins and using deer horns for scratching his body, took resort to hermitage newly built on the town and dwelt there with wife and purohita living on cow's milk. Leading such a life they performed also sacrifices offering animal victims and so forth. There were also āśramas of life-long sannyāsins like Āśāda Kālāma and Rudraka Rāmaputra. In these āśramas the Guru or the Chief teacher not only acted as spiritual head imparting esoteric and exoteric religious instructions but also, regulated the daily life of the inmates according to the usages of brahmacārins². While before and at the time of appearance of Buddhism so well organised monasticism in the form it obtained among the Buddhists was unique and unknown in India. The Jains may be regarded as the Pre-Buddhistic religious order which had a monastic system and a code but not so systematic like that of the Buddhists. The story of the Buddha's forming the Saṅgha is related thus :

Prince Siddhātha Gautama, son of the Śākyan king Śuddhodana of Kapilavastu, seeing suffering and unhappiness in the World left his royal palace in a dark night and giving up his princely dress embraced the life of a mendicant. He wandering about in different places in search of the cause of

suffering in the World, what is good and incomparable, matchless path to peace (Nibbāna) approached the two famous yogi teachers Āḍa Kālāma and Rudraka Rāmaputra and quickly acquired their equal spiritual stages of the sphere of nothingness ^{and neither consciousness} nor unconsciousness (neva saññā nāsaññayatana) respectively. But being not satisfied with their methods and the attainments he left them and walking on tour through Magadha in due course arrived at Uruvelā (Buddhagayā), a delightful place on the bank of the river Nairāṇjana and stayed there for six years striving to achieve the goal. At last he realised the fundamental truth that all Worldly phenomena are dependently originated with cause and condition (idappaccasamupāda ^{idappaccasamupāda}) and are transitory (anicca), unsubstantial or soulless (anattā) and sorrowful (dukkha). Henceforth he became known as Enlightened one (Buddha).

Though at first Buddha was reluctant to preach his newly achieved Dhamma which is so abstruse and difficult to understand to the common men who are deluded and full of attachment (rāga), but out of compassion for the suffering humanity he changed his decision and intended to set turning the wheel of the Doctrine (Dhammacakkapavattana). He started his missionary career at the age of thirty-five and continued it for long forty-five years till his Mahāparinibbāna.

Formation of Bhikkhu Saṅgha :

Buddha delivered his discourse at Isipatana (Saranath) to the group of five monks (Pañcavaggiya). In the Buddhist literature this is known as the Dhammacakkavattanaṣutta (Turning the wheel of Law). It explains the four

noble Truths (Cattāriariyasaccāni). They are Dukkha^{Samudaya,}nirodha (cessation of suffering) and dukkha nirodhagāminipatipadā (the path of leading to the cessation of suffering) which is also called the noble Eightfold Path (Ariyaṭṭhaṅgikamagga). It consists of sammāvācā (right speech), sammā kammanta (right action), Sammā-ājīva (right livelihood), Sammā - vyāyāma (right exertion), Sammāsati (right mindfulness), Sammā samādhi (right concentration), Sammā saṅkappa (right intention) and sammāditṭhi (right views). It is also known as the Middle Path (Majjhima Patipadā) which avoids the two extremes, indulgence in sensual pleasures (Kāmekāma-sukhallikānuyogo) and self-mortifications (Attakilamathānuyogo). Buddha first delivered his dhamma to the five ascetics (Pañcavaggiyas) his former companions, namely Āññāta Koṇḍañña, Vappa, Bhaddiya, Mahānāma and Assaji.

There was at Benaras a young man named Yasa, son of a very wealthy merchant. He had three palaces to live in. He was surrounded by female musicians. He lived in great luxury. One night he woke up and saw singing girls in loathsome postures. Then he being disgusted left home that night and went to Buddha. Buddha delivered a discourse to him. Yasa accepted Buddha's refuge and became a monk. His parents and former wives were converted as his lay devotees (Upāsaka). Yasa's fifty^{four} friends also became monks. There were then sixty-one monks including Buddha himself who were free from all types of worldly bondage and attained complete emancipation. With these sixty-one monks the ^{Saṅgha} Bhikkhu³ was formed completely for the first time. Buddha wanted to propagate his doctrine far and wide. From the Mahāvagga we come to know that he sent the monks out in different directions

to preach his teaching with the words : Go, ye now, O Bhikkhus, wander, for the gain of the many, for the welfare of the many, out of compassion for the World. Let not two of you go the same way. Preach the doctrine which is glorious in the beginning, middle and end, in the spirit and in the letter, proclaim a consummate, perfect and pure life of holiness. (Caratha bhikkhūve Cārikam bahujanahitāya bahujana sukkhāya, lokānukampāya althāya hitāya sukhāya, devamanussānam, mā ekena dve agamittha, asetha bhikkhūve dhammādikalyāṇam, majjha kalyāṇam pariya-sanakalyāṇam, sattham, sabyāñ-janam kevalāparipunnam, parisuddham brahmacariyaṃ pakāsatha (Vinaya-Mahavagga, p.21). Then Buddha did not remain content with this. He himself also left for Uruvelā to propagate his new doctrine. On the way he met a party of thirty young men of respectable families (Bhaddavaggiyā). They were converted to Buddhism and became monks.

In course of his travelling Buddha reached Uruvelā where dwelt at that time three ascetics - Uruvela-Kassapa, Nadi-kassapa and Gaya-Kassapa, Uruvela-Kassapa, the eldest brother had five hundred disciples, Nadi-Kassapa, the second brother had three hundred and Gaya-Kassapa, the youngest one had two hundred. They worshipped fire and believed in the destruction of mental defilements such as greed, hatred, delusion, etc. Buddha overcame them through his magical powers. Buddha converted these three fire-worshipping Jātīla brothers by preaching to them the famous sermon known as the ' Fire Sermon ' Adittapariyāyasutta which explains that the real fire consists of rāga (attachment), dosa (hatred) and moha (delusion), the Buddha proceeded to Rājagaha. He had a large number of followers with him. The king Bimbisāra

was accompanied by his ministers ,courtiers and citizens met Buddha who delivered his discourses and converted them to Buddhism as lay devotees. King Bimbisāra was very pleased and donated his Bamboo Grove ((Veluvana) to Buddha and his followers for residence of the Bhikkhus by sprinkling water. This was the establishment of the first ⁴ Buddhist Vihāra ^{Buddha} resided here for sometime and went from Rājgaha to his homeland Kapilavatthu. Here he permitted Rāhula, his son, to join the order (Saṅgha) and asked Sāriputta to give him the ordination. Among other Śākyaas that joined order were Nanda, Ānanda, Devadatta, Anuruddha, Bhaddiya, Bhagu, Kimbila and the barber Upālī. Most of these figured notably in the subsequent history of Buddhism.⁵

As ascetic named Sañjaya of Rājgaha had two hundred and fifty disciples including Sāriputta and Moggallāna of a Brahmin family. One morning, Sāriputta saw the venerable Assaji, a disciple of Buddha, on his begging round at Rājgaha. Sāriputta was highly impressed and asked of his teacher's doctrine. Then the venerable Assaji uttered the following verse:-

"Those things which produced from a cause,
of these the truthfinder has
told the cause,
and that which is their stopping
The great recluse has such a doctrine."

(Ye dhammā hetuppabhavā
tesam keṭum Tathagato āha
tesam ea yo nirodho evaṃvadi Mahāsamaṇo ⁶

On hearing the Buddha's teachings from Assaji, Sāriputta became satisfied and went to his friend, Moggallāna and told him all. Then both of them wanted to join the Buddhist Saṅgha.

Then they along with two hundred and fifty disciples of Sañjaya went to Buddha who was staying at Veluvana and became his disciples. When staying at Rājagaha Buddha converted many religious teachers and paribbājakas as his disciples and house-holders as lay-devotees to Buddhism. A very wealthy house-holder called Kassapa subsequently known as Mahākassapa hearing his discourse became his disciples. Sudatta, known as Anāthapiṇḍika or Anāthapīḍada was a wealthy merchant of Sāvattī. Once he requested the Buddha to pay a visit to Sāvattī with his followers. Buddha accepted his invitation and came to Sāvattī (Sahet Mahet), the capital of Kosala, one of the sixteen Mahājanapadas (Great Countries). Here the Buddha delivered a large number of discourses as also framed most of the rules of the Pātimokkha.

Anāthapiṇḍika purchased from Jeta a large garden with as many gold as would cover the entire garden. He erected a monastery and presented it to Buddha for the residence of the monks. It is known as the famous Jetavana Vihāra. Sona Kolivisa, a son of the wealthy merchant lived at Campā, the capital of Āṅga. Having heard the name of Buddha, and his teachings, he was moved and became a monk. Mahākaccāyana who was the son of the royal priest of king Caṇḍa Pajjota came to Benares to pay a visit to Buddha. Having heard Buddha's teachings, he became a monk. Gradually Buddha moved his disciples to propagate his teaching and organised the monastic order. The number of lay-devotees and monks (bhikkhus) began to increase. Ananda was the prominent disciple of Buddha. Kūṭadanta, the Brahmin priest, Sonodaṇḍa a Brahmin well-versed in Brahmanical lore, Nigrdha, the paribbajaka (the wandering teacher) and many others became disciples of Buddha.

The account of the foundation of the Bhikkhunī Saṅgha runs thus :

Five years after the enlightenment of the Prince Siddhartha, his father Suddhodana died. At that time there was a great quarrel between Sākya and the Koliya over taking the water of Rohiṇī river. After the solution of this quarrel the Buddha was staying at Nigrodhārāma of Kapilavatthu. At that time Mahāpajāpati Gotamī along with other Sākya woman went to the Buddha for the formation of the order of nuns. The Buddha did not permit her and said to her that she should not pray for the entrance into order of nuns. Though rejected by the Buddha, Mahāpajāpati Gotamī did not loose her patience. She prayed for the second and the third time. She placed her prayer before the Buddha who denied again and again. Then Mahāpajāpati Gotamī went back with a great sorrow and weeping. Immediately the Buddha left Kapilavatthu and went to Vesālī. At that time Mahāpajāpati and her followers, most of whom were members of Gotama's own clan, the Sakyan, depressed, but not daunted, cut off their hair, adopting the symbol of a life of renunciation and put on the saffron-coloured robes and followed her, arriving bitterly sad and painfully travel-strained. (Atho Mahāpajāpati Gotamī Sunehi Pādehi raj-okinṇena gattena dukkhī dummanā as sumukhī rudamaṇā bahiddhā kotṭhaka atthāsi).⁷

They were met by the gentle Ananda who shocked to see them in this doleful plight, but deeply impressed by their zeal and determination, undertook to plead their cause for them with the Buddha. He asked the Lord three times, saying

" it were well, Lord, if women were to have permission granted them to do as she desires. But the Buddha remained adamant. Ānaṇḍa solicited on a fresh argument, appealing to Buddha's sense of justice and truth, he got him to admit that women were as capable as men of leading a contemplative life and of treading on the paths of arhatship⁸. The Buddha admitted that women, having taken to the life of pabbajjā in Buddhism, are capable of attaining the higher fruits of religious life as far as Arhatship.⁹

When Siddhārtha lost his mother Māyādevī Mahāpajāpati Gotamī took care of Siddhārtha giving her breast-milk. He was brought up by her carefully. The Buddha could not neglect this prayer. At last the Buddha most reluctantly gave permission but imposed eight cardinal conditions (Atthagarudhammā) on women. Women must abide by the Chief eight rules for the admission into the order, These important eight rules are as follows :-¹⁰

1. An almswoman (bhikkhunī) even if of a hundred years standing shall make salutation to , shall rise up in the presence of, shall bow down before, and shall perform all proper duties towards almsman (bhikkhu) if only just initiated. This is a rule to be revered and revered, honoured and observed, and her life long never to be transgressed. (Vassasā-tupasampannāya bhikkhuniyā tadahupasampannassa bhikkhuno abhivādanam paccutthānam añjalikammaṃ samicikammaṃ Katabbamaṃ aya-
am pi dhammo Sakka tvā garukatvā mānetvā pujetvā Yāvajīvam
anatikkaṃaniyo. Cullavagga - P.T.S.X Pg.255.
2. An almswoman is not to spend the rainy season (of vassa) in a district in which there is no almsman. This is a rule

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never to be transgressed. (na bhikkhuniyā abhikkhuke āvāse vassam vasitabbam ayam pi dhammo-----

anatikkamanīyo, Cullavagga - P.T.S.X Pg. 255)

3. Every half-month an almswoman is to await from the almsman two things, the asking as (the date of) the Uposatha ceremony, and the (time when the almsman) will come to give the exhortation. This a rule never to be transgressed. (anvaddhamāsam bhikkhuniyā bhikkhu saṅghato Uposathapucchakañ ca ovadupasāṅkamañca pariyesitabbam.)
4. After keeping the rainy season (of vassā) the almswoman is to hold Pavāraṇā (to enquire whether any fault can be laid to her (charge) before both Saṅgha - as well that of the Almsman as that of the Almswomen - with respect to three matters, namely what has been seen, What has been heard, and what has been suspected, this is a rule never to be transgressed. (Vassam vutthaya bhikkhuniyā ubhatosaṅghe tīhi tṭhehi pavāretabbam diṭṭhena va sutena va parisāṅkāya vāyam pi dhammo anatikkamanīyo.)
5. An almsman who has been guilty of a serious offence is to undergo the Mānatta discipline towards both the Saṅghas (Almsmen and Almswomen). This is a rule never to be transgressed. (garudhammañ ajjhapaṇṇāya bhikkhuniyā ubhatosaṅghe pakkhamānattaṃ Caritabbam ; ayam Pi..... anatikkamanīyo.)
6. When an almswoman, as novice, has been trained for two years in the six Rules, she is to ask leave for the Upasampadā

initiation from both Saṅgha (Almsmen as well that of the Almswomen). This is a rule never to be transgressed.¹⁶ (dve vassāni chasu dhammesu sikkhitasikkhāya sikkhamānāya ubhatosaṅghe upasampāsa pariyesitabbā, ayam pi ... ānatikkamaṇiyo).

7. An almswoman is on no pretext to revile or abuse an almsman. This is a rule never to be transgressed.¹⁷ (na bhikkhuniyā kenaci pariyaṇena bhikkhu akkoṣitabbo.)

8. From henceforth official admonition by almswomen to almsmen is forbidden, whereas official admonition to almswomen by almsmen is not forbidden. This is a rule never to be transgressed.¹⁸ (ajjatagge ovaṭo bhikkhuniṇaṃ bhikkhūsu vacanapapatho, anov-
ṭo bhikkhunaṃ bhikkhuniṇuṃ vacanapatho ; ayam Pi ānatikkamaṇiyo).

Yasodharā was another Śākya woman. She entered the Bhikkhūnī Saṅgha. She was the wife of Śākya putra Gautama.¹⁹ Apadāna mentions that there was a therī named Yasodharā who was the wife of Śākya Prince . She was the Chief Bhikkhūnī among the 90,000 Bhikkhunis. Some scholars were of opinion that Yasodharā was the first woman who preached the religion to be free from the bondage of the World. According to this tradition Yasodharā was the founder of the Bhikkhūnī-Saṅgha. A problem may arise as to who was the first woman to enter the order of Nuns as a bhikkhūnī. I.B. Horner holds the opinion " A good deal of uncertainty surrounds the actual foundation of the Buddhist order of Almswomen and its beginnings are wrapped in mists. It is possible that Mahāpajāpati Gotamī came late into the order, after her husband died, and

that the first woman really to make the order open for women was Yāsodharā possibly the former wife of Gotama, who in her verse in the Apadāna is said to represent many women and herself."

1. The name of Gopā or Yasodharā as in the Apadāna, is said to have taken the leading part in formation of the order of nuns, Bhikkhūṇī Saṅgha.²⁰
2. Again Mahāpajāpati Gotamī as in the Ullavagga of Vinayapiṭaka and in the Aṅguttaranikāya moved a request for the formation of the order of nuns. Vinayapiṭaka is, however, silent about the account of Yasodharā as the founder of the Bhikkhūṇī-Saṅgha.
3. Dr. Sukumar Sengupta²¹ however observed that Mahāpajāpati Gotamī was the initiator of the formation of the order of nuns.

Following Mahāpajāpati Gotamī and Yasodharā many other women from high and respectable family and also even from miserable condition, prostitute and deserted by husband namely, Ambapālī, Khemā, Paṭācārā, Bhaddā Kuṇḍalkesā, KisaGotamī, Sumedhā, Subhā Ambavanikā, Sāmā, Vajirā, Uppalavaṇṇā, Puṇṇikā, etc., joined the Saṅgha as a nun (therī), caused for the spread of Buddhism, made spiritual progress and composed beautiful poems and lyrics of first grade importance.

Thus the entire Buddhist Saṅgha consisting of its two branches Bhikkhusaṅgha and Bhikkhūṇī Saṅgha was formed and established.²²

With the influx of the converts both male and female to Buddha's Dhamma, it became imperative to frame rules codified in the Vinaya Piṭaka for the well-being and proper guidance of his adherents. Thus

came into existence the Saṅgha which subsequently attained a glorious position in the history of Indian monasticism and education.

Rules of Admission into Saṅgha :

Two faces of monk life are Pabbajjā (initial ordination) and Upasampadā (final ordination). PABBAJJĀ (from ^vvraj), Buddhist Sk. Pravrajyā meaning leaving the World, adopting the ascetic life, state of being a Buddhist friar, taking the yellow and ordination means admission into the Buddha's order in particular. In the Vinaya Piṭaka and the Nikāyas we find the word in the sense of a monk cutting off all family and social ties to live the pure and holy of a monk in order to realize the goal of final deliverance (vimutti) and attainment of Nibbāna pointed out by the Buddha. Pabbajjā is the name for admission as a sāmaṇera or novice, i.e. initial ordination as a candidate for the order of monks (Bhikkhu Saṅgha) while Upasampadā is the final ordination to become a full fledged bhikkhu.

The first step in Buddhist initiation is called Pabbajjā of " going forth ". It means that a person presents himself for admission into the order by " going out " of his previous state, whether it be that of a layman and householder or of a wandering ascetic or monk belonging to a different sect. The admission in the order was thrown open to all the castes.

The candidates for admission must take leave of all the visible marks of the life he has left, ~~the~~ marks of caste as of clothes . He ^a casts himself out into the Order which has made a short work of all distinctions of caste on the principle which is deliberately and diametrically its very opposite, ~~the~~ principle of equality and fraternity. In the words of the Buddha himself : " As the great streams, O disciples, however many of them may be, the Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Acīravatī, Sarabhu, Mahī, when they reach the great ocean, lose their old name and their old descent, and bear only one name. ' the great ocean ', so also, my disciples, ~~these~~ four castes, Nobles, Brāhmaṇs, Vaiśya, and Śūdra, when they, in accordance with the laws and doctrine which the perfect one has preached, for sake their home and go into homelessness, lose their old names and old paternity, and bear only the one designation, ' Ascetics²³, who follow the son of the Sakya house ' (²³ Cullavagga IX, 1, 4). As instance of persons of low castes being admitted as monks, we may mention Upāli the barber and a vulture-tormentor²⁴ ' (²⁴ Cullavagga, 32).

But, though in theory the order might be recruited from all castes, in practice the admission to it was sought by a few, that small and select Class of persons who were spiritually advanced enough to adopt the life of asceticism, renouncing ~~the~~ life of pleasure and ' outgoing ' activities.

EHI-BHIKKHU-PABBAJJA :

(Skt. Ehi bhikṣu prabrejya) i.e. admission into the Buddhist order by pronouncing ' Come ', monk. This is ^{the} oldest form of admission (Pabbajja) and ordination (Upasampadā) used by Buddha to ordain some one into the Saṅgha

pronouncing the formula beginning with the words Ehi bhikkhu.

When laymen or a non-Buddhist after hearing the doctrine preached by Buddha and understanding it expressed his desire to him to leave the house hold-life and become a homeless monk (agāraṃ ~~anagāriyaṃ~~ pabbajjaṃ) by saying, " May I, Lord, remain the ' going forth ', the Buddha used to pronounce the formula " Come monk (ehi bhikkhu), well taught is the doctrine, fare the holy life for making an utter end of suffering (svākkhāto dhamma cara brahmacariyaṃ ~~sam~~^{na} dukkhassa antakiriyaṃ). The Sanskrit parallel of this formula is Ehi bhikṣu cara tathāgata brahmacarya²⁵).

The first entrant by ehi-bhikkhu-pabbajja formula was Anāta Koṇḍanna who was followed by the other four of the pañcavaggiya group of monks. The next entrants were Yasa, the son of a banker of Benares and his four companions and then fifty friends²⁶. According to Dhammapada Atthakathā²⁷ as soon as this formula was pronounced on them, they assumed^u, by the magic power (iddhi) of the Buddha the forms of monks, complete with robes and bowl (cf. Mahāvastu : III pp. . 180, 379).

When more than one layman were given ordination the plural form of the formula ' etha bhikkhavo ' and a female was given the same, the feminine form ' ehi bhikkhuni ' were pronounced.²⁸

Tisarāṇa Formula :

Buddha then sent his sixty disciples to different places to propagate his new doctrine. They returned with a large^{number} of disciples and Buddha ordained them. This gave him

unnecessary trouble. It was for this reason he modified the rule of ordination and new rule was issued. Then every bhikkhu could ordain all his new disciples on behalf of Buddha under the 'Tisarāṇa formula'²⁹ (in the name of Buddha, the Dhamma and the Saṅgha) thus :

I take refuge in the Buddha (Budd-
haṃ Saraṇaṃ gacchāmi), I take refuge in the Dhamma (Dhammaṃ Sara-
ṇaṃ gacchāmi), I take refuge in the ^{Order} Saṅghaṃ Saraṇaṃ gacchāmi).

~
(Natticatutthakamma or Formal Act of Admission):

After sometime Buddhism was wide-spread and became larger when the utterance of mere tisarāṇa formula was found inadequate, the system of Natti-catuttha kamma was introduced. The procedure was that an entrant, whose age must not be less than fifteen in case of pabbajjā and twenty in case of Upasampadā is to sit on his legs and ask for ordination in a set formulae (kammavācā)³⁰ before a chapter of at least ten fully ordained monks. He must be present that he had complied with the preliminary conditions like taking his parents' consent, shaving his head and so forth. His intention to become a fully ordained monk is announced thrice (Natticatuttha) by the upajjhāya or ācariya, i.e. to ordain by a formal act consisting of a motion and a resolution put three times (Natticatuttakammena upasampaditum)³¹. This is the motion.

" Honoured Sirs, let the order (Saṅgha) hear me. This (person) so and so wishes for ordination from the venerable so and so. So and so asks the order for ordination

through the preceptor so and so, if the preceptor so and so through the preceptor so and so is pleasing to the venerable one (saṅghassa pattakallaṃ), let them be silent; he to whom it is not pleasing should speak. And a second time I speak forth this matter

And a ~~third~~ time I speak forth this matter After the announcement, if there is none dissenting the ordination is conferred.

After initiation ceremony (pabbajjā) a novice (sāmaṇera) is asked to observe only ten precepts (daṣāṇṇa ³²), or ten abstinences from misconducts, viz. killing a being (paṇātipāta), theft (adinādāna), unlawful sexual misconduct (kāmesu miccāhācāra), speaking false (musāvāda), taking intoxicating drinks (surāmerayapamādaṭṭhāna), eating after midday (vikālabhojana, (naccagītavāditavisūkadanana), attending dance-music and visiting shows using garland, scents and ointments (Mātā-gandha - vilepana - dhāraṇa), sleeping on high beds (uḍḍāsāyana - mahāsāyana) and accepting gold and silver (jātārūpa-rajata-paṭiggahana).

Nissaya i.e. Supports :

Immediately after Upasampadā the Bhikkhu is enjoined the four " Nissayas (Supports) upon which he is to depend, namely, living on alms (piṇḍiyālopa-bhojana), robes made out of rags (paṃsukulacīvara), sleeping under trees (rukkhamaṇāsana) and using urine, filthy things as medicine (pūtimuttabhāsajjam). These rules were later on relaxed as detailed below.

Pindiyālopabhojana

Originally the monks were enjoined to live only on alms, but, in course of time, the rule was relaxed and they were allowed to accept invitations when extended to a Saṅgha as a body, or to a group of individuals, or to an individual. They could also accept food distributed by tickets (salākā), fortnightly meals, meals on the uposatha days or meals offered on every first day (pratipad) of a fortnight.

The restrictions regarding food were further relaxed in the sections on mendicaments. Not only sick but also healthy monks were allowed to take sugar-water or other sweet drinks, fruits meal and fish under certain conditions.³⁴

By the sanction of Kappiya-bhūmi for the storage of food, even, if necessary, by cooking. The site of the kappiyabhūmi had to be selected beyond the boundary limits of a monastery, with the exception that the site if not so found, a cowshed or a layman's building within the boundaries of a monastery might be used as a kappiyabhūmi. A Bhikkhu was entrusted with the management of the Kappiyabhūmi. He was called Kappiyakāraka. It is said that Bhikkhus undertaking a journey were permitted even to receive gold through the kappiyakāraka and purchase the necessities of life. Lastly, the Bhikkhus were given full discretion in matters of food and medicaments regarding which there was no express direction in the Vinaya.

Pamsukulacīvara or Dress of Monks :

For the dress of monks, pamsukulacīvara was the rule while linen, cotton, silk, woolen garments, coarse

cloth, hempen (khomaṃ kappāsikaṃ koseyyaṃ kamblaṃ sānaṃ bhāṅgaṃ) were extra concessions (atirekalābha). It was at the instance of Jīvaka Koṃṭarabhacca that Buddha permitted his followers to accept the robes (Cīvara) offered by layman. These could be made of six kinds of materials mentioned above. A monk was allowed only three garments (Cīvara) had to be made out of cut pieces of cloth so that when sewn together would look like cultivated fields. There were several rules relating to the dyeing of Cīvaras, drying dyed cloths, division and distribution of the Cīvara among the recipients, and so forth. In division and distribution many difficulties cropped up, leading to the creation of office-bearers like Cīvaranidāhaka (Keeper of robes), and Cīvarapaṭiggahaka (receiver of robes). Each of these office-bearers were formally appointed by the Saṅgha by unanimous consent. The pātimokha-sutta takes notice of several irregularities in the distribution and use of Cīvaras, the Bhikkhus were allowed to accept mantles (pāvāra), blankets (Kambala), towels (mukhapuñchaka colaka), bags (parikhāracolaka), bathing cloths (Udaka-sāṭika), and bandages for itches, wounds etc. (kaṇḍupaṭicchādi). It cannot be definitely stated when the use of shoes by monks came into vogue. According to the tradition, permission was granted by Buddha for the use of shoes when Sāgata was the servitor of Buddha. Once of privilege was given, there were abuses, and to counteract these several restrictions had to be imposed regarding colour, shape and material of the shoes and the use of these in the cloisters (caṅkamana) or in the presence of upajjhāya, and so forth.

Rukkhamūla Senāsana or Residence and articles of Furniture

It has been mentioned above that for the residence of monks rukkhamūlasenāsanam (residence under trees) was the original rule, while a monastery (Vihāra), a pinnacled house (addhayoga), a big building (Pāsāda), an attic (hammiya) and a cave (guhā) were later on allowed as atireka-lābha. It was at the instance of Bimbisāra that Buddha accepted the Veluvana-vihāra, and in consequence of which he sanctioned ārāmas for the dwelling of monks.

The monks were still then dwelling at foots of trees, on hills, in grottos and caves, in cemeteries, forests, open places or on straw-heaps. The setthi of Rājagaha were the first to come forward to provide Vihāra, addhayoga, pāsāda, hammiya and guhā for the monks. They built sixty vihāras and dedicated the same to the use of members of the order of the four corners (satthim vihāra āgatānāgatassa cātuddisṣassa saṃghassa patitṭhāpekṇi). These had plastered walls, white-washed or coloured, and were provided with doors and windows, verandahas, boundary-walls etc. The vihāras so far constructed were provided with the bare requirements of monks as shown above . It was Anāthapiṇḍika who built a monastery at Sāvattṇi with all its component parts, viz., dwelling rooms, cells, gate-chambers, service-halls, halls with fire-places, store-house, closets, cloisters, rooms for walking exercises wells, sheds for the wells, bathing places, bath rooms, tanks pavilions (vihāra, pariveṇa, kottṭhaka, upatṭhānasālā, udapānasālā, jantāghara, jantāgharasālā, pokkharani, maṇḍapa). The institution of Cankamasālās and Jantāghara was permitted at the instance of jīvaka.

Putimuttābhesajjāṃ: (Excrement as medicine)

Like the previous *nissayas*, *putimuttābhesajjāṃ* (Urine and such other medicines) was the original rule, but later on *sappi* (butter), *navanīta* (cream), *tela* (Oil) *madhu* (honey) *phāṇita* (molasses) were allowed to be taken but only in the afternoon. Later on, however, the time was not only extended, but permission was also given for storing the same upto seven days in supersession of the rule that no food should be stored. In course of time these were found inadequate to keep the *Bhikkhus* free from ailments, so permission was given for using as medicines, animal-fats, medicinal roots, herbs, leaves, fruits, gums, salts, and such other drugs prescribed in the *Āyurveda-sāstra*, including even raw meat and blood, besides, gruels and dressing of wounds were recommended in cases of necessity. Receptacles, instruments and other articles required for preparing medicines or applying ointments, letting of blood by lancers, use of surgical appliances and requisites, were sanctioned as a matter of course. Surgical operation was prohibited only in cases of wounds which were within two inches of the anus. The monks, in fact, were allowed to take almost all medicinal and surgical aids available at the time, the only condition being that they in the name of medicines must not drift to excesses or enjoy the comforts of a household.

The higher ordination of *Upasampadā* by which a *Sāmaṇera* completes of probation and enters upon the full membership of the *Saṅgha* for which he is destined and has been prepared since his *Pabbajjā* ordination, marks an important point of distinction between the Brahmanical and Buddhist systems

of education. Under the former system, the Brahmaçarin, on the completion of his studentship and coming of age, returns to his house and family as a Sñātaka and presently marries and becomes Grast^h-ha or house-holder. His Pravrajyā tie, 'going out of home, was for temporary period while in the case of the Buddhist, the outgoing from home into homelessness (agārasmā anagāriyam pabbajjā) is final or as long as the person wishes.

Bars to Admission :

Persons belonging to non-Buddhistic religious orders could only be admitted into the Saṅgha after they had gone through a probationary period (parivāsa) of four months and behaved themselves properly during the period. Exceptions, however, were made, in the case of the Jātulas and the Śākya, the former being believers in the effects of past deeds (Kammaṽadino kiriyāṽadino) and the latter being kinsmen of the Teacher.

Persons suffering from any of the five diseases, viz., leprosy (Kutṭham), boils (gaṇḍo), dry leprosy (Kilāso), consumption (Soso), and fits (apamāro) were debarred from admission into the Saṅgha. Other persons who were excluded from admission into the Saṅgha were (a) rājabhāto (men in royal service), dha-jabaddo coro (declared thieves), Kārābhedako coro (jail breaker), likhitako coro (proclaimed robber). Kasaṇhato katadaṇḍakammo (scourged offender), lakkhaṇāhato (branded thief), iṇāyiko (debtor), dāso (slaves), a matricide, a patricide, an arhantacide, one who has violated a nun, one who has caused a schism, one who has shed Buddha's blood, a eunuch, a hermaphrodite, an animal in human form, one whose hand or feet or both have been severed and one who has furtively joined the Saṅgha.³⁵

Uposatha and Pātimokkha Assemblies :

Following the practices of the non-Buddhistic sects Buddha introduced (tradition says at the instance of king Bimbisāra) the fortnightly sitting of monks either on the 14th or 15th (and or 8th) day to hold discussions about the Dhamma and Vinaya and to receive the rules of the Pātimokkha, Before the recitation the preliminaries to be attended were : sweeping of the Uposatha hall, provision of seats, lamps and drinking water, formal announcement of the day, declaration of pārisuddhi of all members, selection of monks to put and answer questions relating the Dhamma and Vinaya, counting of the members to ascertain the completeness of the Saṅgha.

As the completeness implied a jurisdiction of the Saṅgha, rules were framed for defining the limits (sīmā) of a Saṅgha, i.e. of a Pātimokkha assembly. Formal selection was made of the spot where the monks were to meet for the purpose a Pātimokkha assembly. Completeness of an assembly implied also the presence of not only all the existing members of an āvāsa but also of those who might belong to another āvāsa but happened to be present on the Uposatha day within the sīmā of that āvāsa. There were occasions when the members of an āvāsa held an assembly without being assured of the presence of members belonging to another āvāsa, but dwelling the āvāsa on the Uposatha day. Rules were prescribed for bonafide mistakes, but, as a rule, if the members of another āvāsa were larger in number, the assembly was held deliberately to avoid or exclude the incoming members of another āvāsa, the members joining the assembly became guilty of either dukkaṭa or thullaccaya according to the nature of the

intention. The Bhikkhus, however, were directed not to leave their residence on the uposatha day except on an urgent business of the Saṅgha.³⁶

The Bhikkhus were required to attend the assembly fully dressed (*ticīvarena avippavāsa*) with certain exceptions, recite the rules of the Pātimokkha in extenso, abridging it only in cases of danger. In cases of necessity Bhikkhus from other āvāsa were invited for reciting the Pātimokkha. There were special procedures for the declaration of Pārisuddhi by a sick monk, for obtaining his consent to the ecclesiastical acts passed in the assembly, and for dealing with a monk who had become insane. The minimum number of members who could hold a Pātimokkha assembly was four ; for declaration of Pārisuddhi only, the minimum number of Bhikkhus required was two, and in both the cases actual attendance of the member was indispensable. If there was only one Bhikkhu in an āvāsa, he had to take to *adhiṭṭhāna*. The Pārisuddhi of an assembly was obtained by making all the members declare individually that they had not committed any breach of the Pātimokkha rules during the preceding fortnight, or by making those who had committed any breach confess their offence. These were exceptional occasions when collective declaration of Pārisuddhi was accepted.³⁷

The recitation of the Pātimokkha could be made only in an assembly in which the members had declared their Pārisuddhi and in which there were no Bhikkhunis, sāmaṇeras, or any Bhikkhu undergoing punishment, or persons not admissible to the Saṅgha.³⁸ In the Cullavagga it is laid down that the recitation of the Pātimokkha should be interdicted (*Pātimokkham tathapetabbam*) if there were any impure Bhikkhu in the assembly .

The interdiction was required in cases where Bhikkhus were too obstinate to acknowledge their guilt.

Vassāvāsa: -----

The observance of the Vassāvāsa came into vogue among the Buddhist monks at an early date. To avoid the inconvenience of travelling in the rains and the chance of injuring sprouts and insects, it was enjoined that the Bhikkhus should stay at one place (āvāsa) during three months of the rains, commencing from the day next to the full moon of Āsāḍha (June-July) or Śrāvāṇa (July-August). In cases of urgent calls only for the benefit of the Saṅgha or of the lay-devotees or sick persons, or for some particular business of the Saṅgha, the Bhikkhus were allowed to leave the 'āvāsa' for seven days only. There was, however, no bar to Bhikkhus leaving the āvāsa if there be danger to life through beasts of prey, snakes, robbers, or if the residence be destroyed by fire or water, or if there be great scarcity of food or medicine, or lack of lay-devotees, or any chance of Śīlāpatti or Saṅghabheda.

The Bhikkhus could take up Vassāvāsa with a moving caravan, ship, or cattle-pen but not in the hollow of a tree, in the open air or under a Sun-shade.

In the selection of the residence during vassā the monks were recommended to stay in those places where the number of lay devotees was large but a monk who had given previously his word to a lay-devotee must keep it.

Pavāraṇā :

The ceremony of Pavāraṇā was performed at the end of the vassāvāsa. The object of the ceremony was to confess all sins of omission and commission (seen, heard or apprehended) that might have been committed during the vassāvāsa . It was almost the same as the declaration of Pārisuddhi in the Pātimokkha assemblies dealt with those of Pārisuddhi. Like the Pārisuddhi-thapanam (interdiction of Pārisuddhi declaration), there was also the system of pavāraṇā-thapanam (interdiction of pavāraṇā ceremony).⁴⁰

Kathina :

Another ceremony on the termination of vassāvāsa was the making of robes of the gifts of cloth made by the laymen to the Bhikkhu-Saṅgha within a very short time. Saṅgha might decide upon a Kathina ceremony if there were any need for it. In that case, it must announce its intention formally before the Saṅgha and obtain the unanimous consent of the members, and then select by another formal announcement the Bhikkhu to be entrusted with the making of the robes. The Bhikkhus so entrusted were allowed a few privileges regarding his food, dress, and rules of daily life. The ceremony would not be complete unless and until the clothes had been cut to measurement, sewn, braided or doubled where necessary, washed and dyed, distributed among the monks, and the words of thanks giving uttered. In certain circumstances, the ceremony might be either postponed or abandoned. The Bhikkhus taking part in the robe-making were allowed the use of knives with handles, needles, needle-cases, wooden frames and other appliances

required in tailoring. If necessary, they could set up temporary open halls or shades with high basement and balustrade and could have them plastered and coloured.⁴¹

The general rule regarding the distribution of robes was that a residing Bhikkhu in an āvāsa was entitled to a share in the robes, and if among the residing Bhikkhus any one went away beyond limits of the āvāsa without the intention of coming back, he was excluded from a share in the division. One, who had the intention of coming back but failed to do so before the last day of Kathina ceremony, lost his privilege of sharing robes.⁴²

Origin and Development of Monastery (Vihāra) :

In ancient times the Buddhist Monastery - known as ' Vihāra ' which was abode of monks and nuns, played a very important role in Indian life and thought. It seems proper to clarify the meaning of the term ' Vihāra ', Numerous definitions of it are found in the Buddhist literature and in the writings of eminent Indologists.

According to Edgerton the ' Vihāra ' seems based on the meaning dwelling, dwelling place, especially, of a monkish community⁴³. Its Tibetan equivalent is ' Gtsuglag Khan ' which means " Kūtāgāra, Vihāra) a monastery, a temple.⁴⁴ ' Vihāra ' thus, is a ' place of living, stay, abode " It is more precisely " a habitation for a Buddhist mendicant a abode in the forest (Arāṇa), or a hut ; a dwelling, habitation ; lodging for a bhikkhu."⁴⁵

The Suttanipāta, on the other hand, defines Vihāra as " a remote shelter for a bhikkhu (dūra)"⁴⁶. It means a place for convention of the bhikkhus ; meeting place ; place for rest and recreation in a Garden or Park.

We have used the term ' Vihāra ' in a wider sense to mean a larger building for housing bhikkhus , an organised Monastery⁴⁷ ". So, Vihāra, when properly rendered, means a Buddhist Monastery where the Bhikkhus assemble together at least for a certain period. It is a convent for Monks and nuns dedicated to religious life. The words ' Arāma ' and ' Vihāra ' are sometimes synonymous. I.B. Horner translates Arāma not " As Park but as ' Monastery '⁴⁸. In Pali , however, the word ' Arāma ' has been used largely in connection with a residence for monks ;

hence it signifies a monastery. ⁵⁰ Ārāma may be defined as a Buddhist convent (Vihāra), rest-house for quiet people built not too far from the town and not too near, convenient for going and for coming, easily accessible for all who wish to visit, by day not too crowded, by night not exposed to too much noise and alarm. ⁵¹ Ārāmas originally, however, meant places for enjoyment, parks. But, in course of time, numerous wealthy persons handed over these to the Buddhist Saṅgha for dwelling purposes. The term Ārāma thus became almost synonymous with Vihāra, monastery and most precisely came to be known as Saṅghārāma. Thus such terms as Vihāra, Ārāma and Saṅghārāma give an idea of a hermitage or a monastery. ⁵² Vihāra had also stood for something much like an isolated parivaṇa, ⁵³ or cell but actually it came to imply a row of cells or individual dwelling places, connected by a verandah. ⁵⁴ It was then known as Dwelling for monks and consisted mostly of a series of walls to which access was gained by a verandah. The general plan was quadrangular court around which the cells were disposed. The rock-Viharas, of a later age, had several storeys, the cells there were arranged in one suite. ⁵⁵ Vihāra originally standing for Monastery for Buddhist monks and nuns also used during the time of the Nālandā University, to mean the residential quarters for the Professors ; a dwelling, a habitation for gods, for monks ; a temple , a covent, ⁵⁶ a group of apartments for a community of monks, a Saṅghārāma or Monastery, any monastic establishment, ⁵⁷ more precisely a Buddhist Monastery. ⁵⁸ As already observed, the term Vihāra has been used in our present discussion to convey only monastery for Buddhist monks and nuns for leading an organised and disciplined life. Like the Caityas , however , the Vihāras or Monasteries

resemble very closely the corresponding institution among the Christians. Vihāra is also regarded as one of the five kinds of Lena which means a "Monastery proper, not a shifting and seasonal settlement of monks"⁵⁹, Childers thought that in later time the word Vihāra almost always was used to designate the whole of a building where many Bhikkhus resided; in older literature the dwelling place the private apartments of a single bhikkhu⁶⁰, Buddhaghosa, on the other hand, took vihāra as a dwelling place with a chamber in it, well protected and containing private lodgings.⁶¹

It is to be noted that various buildings constituted a Buddhist Saṅghārāma, such as living and sleeping quarters for the Bhikkhus a refectory or service-hall (Uppathāna - Sālā), a fire-hall, (aggi-sālā), frequently rendered as 'Kitchen', an open pillared pavillion (mandapa), a promenade and cloister for walking exercise (cāṅkamaṇa - sālā), a Kathina hall for tailoring, a privy, a well and well-house (Udapanasālā), a store-room (Kottahaka) and provision and drug store (Kappiyakuti). The various units of a monastery seem to have been, for the most part, detached and structure and thus the Saṅghārām did not consist of one single and comprehensive building.⁶² The Saṅgha later on attained the glorious position in the history of India monachism. But it is to be noted that although the first Saṅgha appeared yet there was, at the period, no Vihāra or Monastery to accommodate the rapidly increasing members of the Buddhist order. It was prescribed that they should use the residences under trees (rukkhamūla senāsanaṃ). But later this rigid principle was liberalised to some extent and the monks were allowed to spend their days in teaching and preaching, dwelling temporarily in 'avasthāgāras'.

(Motehalls of villagers) instead of taking shelter in fixed ~~of taking shelter in fixed~~ residences, the Bhikkhus, thus at the primitive stage of the Saṅgha had no dwelling house properly so called. They took the shelter ' now there ' - in the woods, at the foot of the trees, on hill-sides, in grottoes, in mountain ~~caves, cemeteries, in forests, in open plains, and in heaps~~ of Straw " (Te ca bhikkhu taṃ taṃ viharanti - araṇṇe, rukkhamūle, Pabbate, Kandarayaṃ, girigūḥayaṃ, susāne, vanapatthe, ajjhokase, paḷālapuñje). But the climatic conditions of this Country stood, in the following years, not remain indifferent to the question of a permanent place of abode for his disciples.

As already stated above, from the Mahāvagga we learn that King Bimbisāra of Magadha offered his veluvana Vihāra to Buddha and his followers, and this was the first Vihāra ever presented to the Saṅgha. While Buddha was sojourning at Rājagaha, he also introduced following the practices prevalent in other religious systems, at the instance of the Bhikkhus, the system of observance of vassā at a fixed place⁶⁴. He prescribed five kinds of abodes for the monks, viz., Vihāra (Monastery), Addhayaṃyoga (pinnacled house), pāsāda (Big building), Hammiya (Attic) and Guhā (Cave). The term ' Vihāra ' was generally used in the sense of Monastery. Dr. T. P. Bhattacharya wrote :

" The old-rock out caves now found in various places of India may be divided into two distinctive classes - the Caitya and the Vihāra. The Vihāra to the Pali canon might, therefore, have been the structural Prototypes of these rock-out Vihāras. They consisted of a large hall having small cells all round, most of which were to be entered, from the Central hall. "

The word 'Addhayoga' meant a house shaped like the Garuḍa bird, 'the pāsāda was the many storeyed building of ancient India. The meaning of the word 'Hammiya' had been explained by Buddhaghosa, the celebrated Pali commentator, as "a pāsāda on whose top had been placed a Kūṭāgāra", and by Kern as "a stone house with a flat roof". The 'Guha' was the artificial or the natural cave⁶⁶. In the Cullavagga there runs a verse highly praising the gift of Viḥāras for the use of the monks :
To meditate and obtain insight in a refuge and at ease ;
A dwelling - place is praised by the Awakened

One as chief gift to an order

Therefore a wise man, looking to his own weal,

should have charming dwelling places built

So that those who have heard much can stay therein

(Lenatthañ ca sukhatthañ ca jhāyitum ca
vipassitum, Viḥāradānam, Saṅghassa aggam
buddhena vāṇṇitam, Tasmāhi paṇḍito
poso sampassañ attham attano Viḥāre
Kāraye ramme vasayettha bahussute).⁶⁷

From the above it is apparent that Buddha realising the hardship of the Bhikkhus during the rains permitted them to reside in the Viḥāras. During the Vassāvāsa there were "to look after their Viḥāra, to provide food and water for themselves to fulfil all due ceremonies, such as paying reverence to sacred shrines, etc. and to say loudly once, or twice, "I enter upon vassā". Thus in course of time it had become customary for the Buddhist monks to take up Vassā-residence on

the day after the full moon of Āsāḍha (mid-June) or a month later and continue it for three following months.⁶⁹ During the Vassā-period the monks may go out of residences under special circumstances for about a week only.⁷⁰ Vassāvāsa, according to the Buddhist monks, did not mean to live anywhere and without any companion. It was rather to reside in congregation. So a provision was made for a residence with its own boundary (sīmā), but several points were considered by the Bhikkhus, before they would decide to settle down at a selected place. The most potent one among them was, however, the possibility of getting alms for subsistence and that was why they used to select such places of residence which were neither too far nor too close to the localities. We know that gradually people came forward to donate their own private parks or pleasure-gardens for the use of the monks for dwelling purposes. Subsequently it was seen that there appeared two types of residences for bhikkhus, viz., the Āvāsa in the country-side, built and organised by the monks themselves, and the Ārāma situated in private enclosures in or near towns and maintained by the donor. But the Āvāsas and Ārāmas., in their earliest stages, ' were in the nature⁷¹ of encampments strictly ' limited to the three rainy months. Even though this short congregation there arose a sense of collective life among the monks. It thus, brought about a change in the monastic way of life and we find that the temporary residences (Vassāvāsas) turned into more or less permanent ones for the Bhikkhus who gradually settled down at fixed places. But it is striking to note that primitive ideal for a free wandering life was not altogether abandoned by them. They caused to be wanderers only .

Indeed it was Buddha who became, probably, a pioneer in introducing a congregational monkish life in the monasteries. There were previously, no doubt, people who renounced the house-hold life and adopted the austere life of ascetics. But they did not dwell at a monastic establishment with other-fellow brethren. Thus the acceptance of the Ārāma at Rājagaha by Buddha for dwelling of monks, marks a turning point in the history of early monasticism. It may be said that the Buddhist monasteries came into existence due most probably to bare necessity of living in dwellings as also to the inner urge felt by the monks for a settled life. Liberal royal grants as well as Public donations helped much to the establishment of the Buddhist monasteries from as early as the Sixth Century B.C. We find later on that they showed a marked advancement - the full manifestation of which may be mentioned in the Nālandā monastery. But from the Vinayapitaka we learn that a Vihāra meant a dwelling place or a private apartment for the Bhikkhus. A merchant (Setthī) of Rājagaha is said to have built " Sixty Vihāras for the monks in one day, which were probably the cells for individual Bhikkhus. These cells were too small in size measuring twelve (Buddha's) spans in length and seven spans in breadth and had open space around them. Thus with the unpretensions beginning, the vihāra subsequently developed into a large dwelling house for a community of monks and nuns in place of small individual cell. The next stage of development of the monastic building was that a long verandah with a cell behind it constituted a Vihāra which was of a rectangular shape. The Mahāvagga recounts this change from the individualistic life to the corporate life in the Vihāra.

The Guhā (Cave) also played an important role in the evolution of Buddhist Monasteries in India. The Bhikkhus preferred the caves as the best places for their residences. These caves were rather artificial structures made of bricks or wood, or hewn out of solid rock. For instance, the caves excavated by Aśoka and his Grandson Daśaratha, in the Barābar and Nāgarjuni hills at Gayā are the earliest specimens of rock-cut ones. Of the monastic dwellings, however, Vihāra (Storied monastery) and Guhā only survived for long. In Northern India the storied monasteries, while in Western India the Guhā-Monastery attained excellent perfection. Thus gradually both vihāra and Guhā became almost synonymous and convey the congregational settlements of the Buddhist monks and nuns. The Guhā monasteries, particularly ; occupy an interesting place with their architectural peculiarities in the annals of ancient Indian architecture.⁷²

There were several Vihāras and Ārāmas placed at the disposal of the Saṃgha in the time of the Buddha. The specifically Buddhist India was noted for its four centres or cities at each of which the Saṃgha owned a number of monasteries serving as the seats of Buddhist learning. Thus we read of Yaśṭivana and Sitavana at Rājagṛha ; Jetavana and Pūrbarāma at Śrāvastī ; Mahāvana, Kūṭāgāra Hall, and Mango-grove at Vaiśālī ; and Nigrodhārāma at Kapilavastu. We also read of Ghoṣītārāma at Kauśāmbī and the Mango-grove of Chunda the Smith at Pāvā, called for a numerous and varied staff of officials with a well worked-out differentiation of functions. The Saṃgha staff included the following officers :

(1) the Appointer or Distributor of lodging-places. The usual

method was first to count the Bhikkhus then to count the sleeping places available, and then to apportion accordingly (Cullavagga ; vi,11,3).

Daily duties and education of monks and nuns :

Life in the Buddhist monastery was regulated by strict discipline. The resident monk had to observe the basic rules of the Vinaya. From his very entry into the Saṅgha, a person's life in the Viṭhara was guided by some principles which were based on religion as well as on ethics. So a look into the Vinayapitaka will largely reveal the various aspects of the lives of the monks and the nuns in the Buddhist monasteries.

Daily Life of monks :

The Vinayapitaka furnishes us with the information regarding the daily life of Bhikkhus and Bhikkhunis who dwelt in the Viṭharas. The monks were enjoined to devote completely to meditation during both the early hours of the morning and late hours of the night. Besides, they were also engaged in begging alms and training the devotees. After meditation in early morning the Bhikkhus had to clean their teeth and attend to their ecclesiastical duties. They had to perform various activities e.g. to prepare, wash and dye robes, to make brushes (Koccha), ladders (nisseni) and to whitewash (suddhi-kamma) the cetiya. Cleanliness of things (Vattuvisadakiriya) was treated as one of the seven conditions for the fulfilment of the search after the Dhamma (dhammavicaya-bojjāṅga).⁷³

A monk would not be allowed to keep long hair and nails and should not soil his body with sweat and dirt and had to clean and tidy. Buddha himself mentioned five virtues accruing from sweeping. In the evening the Bhikkhus had to sit together to recite the suttas, while the nuns and others sat there, listening to the devotional recitation. After it, a religious sermon was delivered by the theras to the younger monks, followed by a free discussion on sundry questions about the Dhamma. The Younger monks were expected to show proper behaviour and etiquette in the presence of the theras (elder bhikkhus). They should not move about or sit down knocking the elderly monks ; should sit on higher seats when the elders were seated on lower ones ; should not wear sandals when the elders were without them ; should not even deliver a sermon or answer a question without permission when the elders were present. When a bhikkhu used to go to a Vihāra as a guest, the resident monks should welcome him warmly , take alms-bowl and robe, prepare a seat for him and attend to his needs . The resident monks also had to look after their monasteries. In the Cullavagga we find that Buddha allowed the Bhikkhus to repair the dilapidated as also new monastic buildings. Immediately after the demise of Buddha when the monks assembled at Rājagaha, they also decided to spend the first month in repairing damaged buildings. The construction work of the monastic buildings was regarded as a way of subduing and controlling the senses. In the commentaries we notice that when a bhikkhu was engaged in building an Uposatha-house or a refectory, he had to busy thinking over his duties regarding that work and accordingly his evil thought (kilesas) would have little opportunity to stir.

We shall see subsequently how a pupil had to work under a teacher in the monastery. Apart from the daily routine of life they were also asked to take part in the Upasampadā ceremony wherein the rules of the Pātimokkha were recited, thereby attaining the moral purity. We find that when writing came into vogue, they were further entrusted with the task of copying the religious texts in addition to those duties already mentioned above. We also observe that the bhikkhus were forbidden to rub their bodies against wood when they were bathing, "for in the eye of the laity this act put them into same category as boxers, wrestlers, shampooers and people who indulged in physical pleasures at a high degree. They were, however, allowed to adopt an ordinary mode of shampooing with the hand,⁷⁴ or a rubbing post. But it is not clear as it was in the case of the nuns, whether they were allowed shampoo one another or not.

We know that the period of vassā occupied an important position in the vihāra-life. During this period bhikkhus used to assemble at a select place and stay therein⁷⁵ for three months to pass their vassā. Usually, the Vassāvāsa (Rain-retreat) was followed by two ceremonies, viz., Pavāraṇā, and Kathina. The Pavāraṇā was a solemn ceremony in which each bhikkhu had to confess his sins of commission and omission, committed, if any, during the Vassāvāsa. It was almost identical with the declaration of the Pārisuddhi in the Pātimokkha ceremony.⁷⁶

The Kathina ceremony, on the other hand, was an occasion for offering the robes by the laity to the Saṅgha. It was generally held within a month of the Pavāraṇā ceremony. The bhikkhus who were proficient in cutting, sewing, dyeing, etc. of garments were

usually appointed to prepare the robes in course of a single day and that was why the ceremony was called the Kathina ceremony.

Manner of begging food :

We shall now study the regulations of the Saṅgha regarding the Primary wants of life. These wants had to be supplied from the process of begging and the gifts of the laity. We may recall the ruling in regard to food for the newly ordained monk. " The religious life has morsels of food given in alms for its resource. Thus you must endeavour to live all your life. Meals given to the Saṅgha, to certain persons, invitations, food distributed by ticket, meals given each fortnight, each Uposatha day (i.e. the last day of each fortnight) or the first day of each fortnight or the first day of each fortnight are extra allowances⁷⁷. The mode of the daily begging is prescribed. " When the time has been called in the Ārāma, a Bhikkhu should put on his waist cloth so as to cover himself all round his waist, fold his upper robes and put them on, fasten the block on, wash his hands, take his alms-bowl, and then slowly and carefully proceed to the village. He is not to turn aside from the direct route and push on in front of senior Bhikkhus. He is to amidst the houses properly clad with his limbs under control, with downcast eye with his robes not tucked up, not laughing, or speaking loudly, not swaying his body or his arms or his head about, not with his arms akimbo, or his robe pulled over his head, and without walking on his heels⁷⁸. When he enters a dwelling, he should not go in nor come out roughly. He should not stand too far off, nor too near, nor too long and should not

turn back too easily. When food is being given to him he should lift up his robe (Saṃghāṭi) with his left hand so as to disclose his bowl, make the bowl in both his hands and receive the food into it without looking at the face of the giver if it is a woman. After the food has been given he should cover up the bowl with his robe and turn back slowly and carefully.⁷⁹

Begging for food was thus an institution common to both the Brahmanical and Buddhist systems of training. There is, however, seen a difference in the manner prescribed for the begging. While the Brahmachārin was allowed to ask for alms by words specially, the Buddhist Bhikkhu must beg in silence, so as to give the laity an opportunity of giving him food and doing a meritorious act. It can hardly be called ' begging ' in the modern sense of the term.

Duty of nursing the sick Bhikkhu :

The duty of nursing the sick among them was laid upon all the Bhikkhus. The texts relate an interesting story regarding the origin of this rule. Once a certain Bhikkhu having a disturbance in his bowels lay fallen in his own evacuations, unattended by any one because he was of no service to the Bhikkhus. The Buddha, going round the sleeping places of the Bhikkhus with Ānanda, noticed the sick Bhikkhu in that condition and asked Ānanda to fetch some water. He himself poured the water over that Bhikkhu while Ānanda wiped him down. Then " the Blessed one taking hold of him at the head and the venerable Ānanda at the feet, they lifted him up and laid him down upon his bed." Afterwards, the Buddha convened a meeting of the Saṃgha at which he rebuked the Bhikkhus thus : " Yes. O Bhikkhus, have no mothers and fathers who might wait upon you, if ye

O Bhikkhus, wait not one upon the other, who is there indeed who will ~~wait~~ wait upon you? Whosoever, O Bhikkhus, would wait upon me, - he should wait upon the sick? He then prescribed detailed regulations on the whole question of nursing the sick. The duty of nursing the sick Bhikkhu lay primarily upon the immediate associates, his Upajjhāya, Ācariya, Saddhivihārika, Antevāsika, a fellow Saddhivihārika or a fellow-Antevāsika as the case might be. That is to say, the teacher and his pupil must first nurse each other in case of illness. A Bhikkhu who is neither a teacher nor a pupil should be waited upon by the Saṅgha itself. The patient is advised to conform to the following requirements to facilitate his nursing : he must do what is good for him, must know the limit of the quantity of food that is good for him, must take his medicine, must take his nurse who desires his good into his complete confidence and let him know all about his disease and his condition, whether he is getting better or worse or continues in the same condition or when his bodily pain are too much. Similarly, the nurse is required to have the following qualifications : he must be able to prescribe medicines, must know what diet is good and what is not good for his patient and serve it accordingly, must wait upon the sick out of a feeling of love and not a desire for gain, must not revolt from removing evacuations, saliva, or vomit and must be capable, lastly, from time to time, " of teaching inciting, arousing, and gladdening the patient with religious discourse"⁸⁰

Nursing was encouraged by a special reward. A sick Bhikkhu dying, his bowl and robes were to be given to his nurse by a special Resolution passed in a meeting of the Saṅgha. In the event of two nurses waiting upon him, the gift

would be divided between them equally, even if one of them was a mere Sāmaṇera and the other fully ordained Bhikkhu. If the dead Bhikkhu leaves property in excess of the requisites which his attending Bhikkhus can legitimately claim, if it is to be first appropriated by the Saṅgha then present there, and, if there is still an excess, it is to be reserved for "the Saṅgha of the four directions, those who have come in, and those who have not".⁸¹

The summons of a sick Bhikkhu living at a distance for aid must be obeyed by the fraternity even if they are confined to their retreat in the rainy season when peregrinations are otherwise prohibited. Such aid must be given on the mere report of the illness, even if no summons are received.⁸²

Besides nursing and provision for treatment and medicines, the necessities of the sick were attended to in other respects. Sick Bhikkhus taking their meals were not to be ousted from their seats. They were also allotted suitable sleeping places of which they had, for the time being, exclusive possession.⁸³

Duties of Teacher and Pupil (Upajjhāyavatta and Saddhivihārikavatta :

From the Mahāvagga we learn that Buddha noticing the ill-behaviour of his followers introduced two kinds of instructors for their proper guidance. They were Ācariya and Upajjhāya ; one attached to the former was called Antevāsika, while the other attached to the Upajjhāya was called Saddhivihārika. The Vinaya^a texts provide us with minutest details about them.

The Bhikkhu has to make a formal application to his proposed preceptor, Upajjhāya, for accepting him

as his pupils in the following manner : Let him who is going to choose a Upajjhāya adjust his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, salute his feet, sit down squatting, raise his joined hands and say, ' Venerable Sir, be my Upajjhāya ', three times⁸⁴. The Upajjhāya will then indicate by nodding or words his acceptance of the applicant as his pupil.

Generally his new convert should live for the first ten years in unquestionable dependence upon his Upajjhāya⁸⁵. But this period could be relaxed in the case of learned competent monk who had to live only five years in dependence on his preceptor. An unlearned one, on the other hand, had to live all his life in such a dependence⁸⁶. Below is given a passage which will speak of the mutual relation between the Upajjhāya and the Saddhivihārika. Addressing his disciples Buddha said : " The Upajjhāya, Bhikkhus, ought to consider the Saddhivihārika as a son ; the Saddhivihārika ought to consider the Upajjhāya as a father (Upajjhāyo saddhivihārikamhi puttacittam Upatthapessati saddhivihāriko Upajjhāyamhi pitucittam Upatthapessati) Thus these two united by mutual reverence, and communion of life, will progress, and reach a high stage in this doctrine and discipline⁸⁷. " Apart from his studies and monastic duties, the Saddhivihārika was to act as a personal attendant of the Upajjhāya⁸⁸. He would offer him the teeth-cleanser, water and meal in the morning. He had also to accompany the teacher in his begging round. He should supply him with drinking water, arrange for his bath, dry his robes, clean the cells, etc. If the Upajjhāya was to commit an offence, the Saddhivihārika should refrain him from it. If the Upajjhāya was to commit an offence, the Saddhivihārika should refrain from it. If the Upajjhāya was guilty of any grave offence leading to the punishments of ' Parivāsa ', mānatta ' and

the like, the Saddhivihārika should take care that the Saṅgha might impose the same on him. The Upajjhāya had also in turn some duties towards his pupil. The rules prescribed that the teacher must be solicitous for the welfare of his pupils as a father was for his son. The Upajjhāya must look to the spiritual well-being of the Saddhivihārika. When the Saddhivihārika would fall ill, it should be the duty of the Upajjhāya to nurse him up. His services should continue till the Saddhivihārika would recover completely from illness and resume his normal activities. There are also provisions for punishments for the breach of duties in the Vinaya code. But if after the teacher's serious display of anger, the pupil begged his pardon he should be pardoned. If the Upajjhāya did not pardon him, he would be guilty of committing 'dukkata' offence.

We have seen above that there were two kinds of instructors, Ācariya and Upajjhāya. Being formally elected at the ordination Ceremony (Upasamapadā), the Ācariya was an instructor in practice. In the Pali-English Dictionary of the P.T.S. we find that the term 'Ācariya' had been defined as "a teacher (almost synonymous with Upajjhāya), " and the word 'Upajjhāya' (Vedic Upādhyāya, Upa + adhi + I, lit. 'One is gone close up to') was explained as "a spiritual teacher or preceptor, master" who was often combined with 'Ācariya', a deputy or substitute of the Upajjhāya. Buddhaghosa, the great Pali Commentator, in his Samantapāsādikā, a commentary on the Vinayapitaka, also endeavoured to define these two terms. According to him the Ācariya (Sans. Ācārya, a teacher) was one who would establish pupil on the teachable matters of Buddha's doctrines, while 'Upajjhāya' was one who would examine the faults and merits of

of his disciple and place him on the right path.⁹¹ Thus according to this definition the Ācariya was the teacher (śikṣāguru) and the Upajjhāya was the spiritual guide or preceptor (dīkṣāguru). But regarding their duties and obligations there was apparently very little difference between them.⁹² The rules regulating the relation between an Upajjhāya and a Sadhivihārika, an ācariya and an Antevāsika remind us of the brahmacharya rules of the Brahmanical religion.⁹³ We learn from the accounts of I-tsing that the afore-said rules governing the relation between the teacher and the taught were in vogue in the Buddhist monasteries even towards the close of the seventh century. I-Siang recorded : (The pupil) " goes to his teacher at the first watch and at the last watch, in the night The pupil rubs the teacher's body , folds his clothes, or sometimes sweeps the apartment and the yards. Then having examined water to see whether insects be in it, he gives it to the teacher. This is the manner in which one pays respect to one's superior. On the other hand, in case of a pupil's illness his teacher himself nurses him, supplies all the medicine needed, and pays attention to him as if he were his child.⁹⁴ " The traveller further observed that the teacher would inspect " his pupil's moral conduct, and " warn " him of defects and transgression ". Whenever he would find " his pupil faulty ", he would make " him sick-remedies and repent ". From I-tsing we also learn that every morning the pupil after his salutations to his seniors studied a portion of the canon and reflected on what he learnt. The instruction imparted in the Buddhist monasteries, comprised both canonical and secular studies as also moral discipline. The Buddhist monasteries, according to the observations of I-tsing , included apart from the

novices, also two classes of lay pupils, viz., the Maṇava (children) who read primarily the Buddhist scriptures with the intention of being ordained at a future date, and the Brahmacārin (student) who studied the secular texts only without the desire of renouncing the household life. These lay-pupils had to bear all their educational expenses - in case of their personal services they were, however, exempted from payments.⁹⁵

This whole-hearted devotion of the pupil to his teacher had its counterpart in the corresponding attitude and conduct of the teacher towards his pupil. If the duties of the pupil are exacting, those of the teacher also are planned on a similar scale. First, he must give the Bhikkhu under his charge all possible intellectual and spiritual help and guidance " by teaching, by putting questions to him, by exhortation, and by instruction ". Second, where the pupil lacked his necessary articles such as an alms-bowl or a robe, the teacher was expected to supply them out of his own belongings. Third, if the pupil falls ill, the teacher must nurse him as long as his life lasts, and wait until he has recovered. During this period of his illness, the teacher is to minister to his pupil in the same way as the pupil serves him in health, down to even rising from bed early to give his pupil " the teeth-cleanser and water to rinse his mouth with " getting water for the washing of his feet, etc.⁹⁶

The relation between the teacher and his pupil were expected to be so intimate that the latter even tried to minister to his teacher's mental troubles. To remove his teacher's discontent " or " indecision ", the pupil would first try his own means and beguile him by religious conversation or

get the help of others. The pupil was also to combat by discussion any false doctrines which the teacher might take to or to get others to do it.⁹⁷

The relations of the pupil towards his teacher did not, however, transcend those towards the order as a whole to which they both owed a common allegiance as members. Where the teacher offended gravely against the order, the pupil was to get him duly punished by the order, and, when the penal discipline is duly undergone, to get the order to rehabilitate his teacher. In the case of the order passing any unduly severe sentence, the pupil is to do what he can to get it modified, mitigated, or nullified by arguing with the order on the one hand, and seeing that the teacher "may behave properly, live modestly, and aspire to get clear of his penance that the order may revoke its sentence."

Expulsion :

There were also rules for the expulsion of pupil by his teacher. "In five cases a Saddhavihārika ought to be turned away ; when he does not feel great affection for his Upajjhāya, nor get inclination towards him, nor much shame, nor great reverence, nor great devotion."⁹⁸

Termination of Studentship :

There are again enumerated five cases of cessation of a nissaya between the Upajjhāya and Saddhivihārika or the Acariya and Antevāsika, viz., when the teacher "is going away, or has returned to the World, or has died or is gone over to a schismatic faction or when he gives order to the pupil

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to separate " under rules of expulsion,

Qualification of a teacher :

The duties of the teacher point to the qualifications required for him. Without these monk was not entitled " to give nissaya " or " ordain a novice ". They are exhaustively enumerated (Mahāvagga, i, 36). He must be well-up " in what belongs to moral practices, self-concentration, wisdom, emancipation, and the knowledge and insight thereto " ; must be able to help others to full perfection " in these : must be believing (not guilty of heresy), modest, fearful of singing, strenuous, of ready memory, not guilty of transgressions in morals or conduct, not uneducated or foolish " ; and must be " able to train a pupil in the precepts of proper conduct, to educate him in the elements of morality, to instruct him in what pertains to the Dhamma, to instruct him in what pertains to the Vinaya, to discuss or to make another discuss according to the Dhamma a false doctrine that might arise " ; and so forth (ibid) .

Number of Pupils :

Regarding the number of pupils a teacher could entertain, we have the following direction : " I allow, O, Bhikkhus, a learned, competent Bhikkhu to ordain two novices or to ordain as many novices as he is able to administer exhortation and instruction to. " ¹⁶⁰

Residential School or Vihāras :

The unit of the Buddhist educational system was thus this group of young Bhikkhus or monks living under the guardianship of a common teacher, the Upajjhāya or Āchāriya, who

was individually responsible for their health and studies, manners and morals, their spiritual progress. We have already discussed the methods by which each individual group or knot of a teacher and his pupils was organised, and the relations and regulations which obtained within the limits of each group. But these groups or Schools were not always existing as isolated and independent units or institutions in the Buddhist World, as they did so largely in the Brahmanical World of Culture. They federated themselves into a larger unit called the Viḥāra or monastery. Thus we have to view them as parts of that larger organisation and in their relations to its general, collective life which developed its own code of discipline and regulations binding upon all, while Brahmanical culture depended upon the system of individual schools and ideal successions of teachers and disciples, the Buddhist culture was the product of confederations of such schools in larger monastic institutions comprising numbers of teachers and students (sometimes as many as 10,000, as at Nālandā) promoting and partaking of a wider, collective, academic life with its own advantages as an educational and educative agency and factor. We shall now describe the rules and regulations governing this larger academic life of the monastery as a seat of education and centre of culture of the times, that collective life in which the individual life of each educational group was merged .

Life of Women in Viḥāra :

In the Vinaya Piṭaka we find an interesting account of the nuns (bhikkhunīs) as regards their life in Viḥāra. After their meals at the noon the bhikkhunīs would have

to select shady place suitable for meditation. In the Therīgāthā we find that nearly all the bhikkhunīs had overcome Māra, the personification of evils. The Saṃyutta Nikāya also relates how the Ālaviya bhikkhunīs and soma, Uppalavannā, Caṭā, Upacāṭā, Sela, and many other succeeded to subdue the Māra.¹⁰¹ The greater portion of day, in the cases of senior theras, was spent in training and teaching the Dhamma and the Vinaya (Code of conduct) to the newcomers.¹⁰² Each nun was further expected to brush and clean her own cell. The seniority of the nuns was determined by the numbers of their ordained years and spiritual advancement as in the case of the bhikkhus.

Regarding the allotment of seats in the Vihāras the nuns enjoyed the same ^{vi} privileges as those enjoyed by the monks. But the bhikkhunīs had not to undergo a period of probation (parivāsa) like the bhikkhus. Two years after the pabbajjā,¹⁰³ they could receive the Upasampadā. They had also to observe the admission (Pabbajjā) into the Saṅgha was open to all women without any discrimination of caste or position in the society except in certain unusual circumstances. The nuns were not allowed to have their back and other parts of their bodies scrubbed or slapped with the bones of oxen.¹⁰⁴ They must not be massaged by their fellow-sisters.¹⁰⁵ Even in the same way must not be shampooed by probationers, novices or by lay-women.¹⁰⁶ The bhikkhunīs were not allowed to dwell in forests. More restrictions were however, imposed on the bhikkhunīs than the bhikkhus regarding the use of beds, seats, vehicles, etc. They were, however, allowed to utilise the vehicles when they fell ill.¹⁰⁷ The nuns were not allowed to use any kind of cosmetics. The nuns had to spend vassā at a place in the vicinity of the bhikkhus. They were not any way granted to live alone and

independently,¹⁰⁸ if they violated this rule, they would be guilty of committing the *pācittiya* offence.¹⁰⁹ Buddha was always cautious regarding women's safety. Like the bhikkhus they also were used to go on alms round everyday to lay-people, taking their alms bowl and return with the food. In the pali canon are found numerous references to such daily round. Thus bhikkhunīs like Sikkā (*Sikkā*), Seta, Cālā, etc. being well-dressed fit for Buddhist nuns used to visit cities nearby for alms.¹¹⁰ They took daily meals in community before noon. The bhikkhunīs were also sometimes allowed to go to shops. It is found that some of them went there to procure the equivalent for some money deposited by a layman with a merchant for their benefit.¹¹¹ Thallānandā, a therī, is said to send a novice to a shop to buy some oil for her. When she became ill.¹¹² The robes of a bhikkhunī was the simplest one, without any fringes and plaits.¹¹³ The manner of putting on the dress was also not attractive and graceful.¹¹⁴ The bhikkhunīs were allowed to use a half-divan as bed.¹¹⁵ But they were forbidden to sleep two together in one couch.¹¹⁶ They had also to wear brassiere (*samkacchika*), described as coming from below the collar-bone to above the naval for the purpose of hiding the breast.¹¹⁷ It was an offence for the bhikkhunīs to house-hold works which might include cooking and washing cloaks and Turbans in the houses of the laity.¹¹⁸

Training of monks and nuns :

It was, however, chiefly for purposes of their religious education and spiritual culture that the monks were brought together in the monasteries. As already stated, the monastery was a kind of federation of group of teachers and pupils, of junior monks living in dependence upon the seniors. Every bhikkhu is expected to accept a pupil " to provide himself with a Sāmaṇera, to give a Nissaya, and to confer the Upasampadā ordination".

Pariṇāsa or Probation :

The vinaya texts distinguish four principal kinds of probation for the bhikkhus. The first of these applied when the follower of another of the reforming sects was received into the Buddhist order. Upon such a person was imposed a Pariṇāsa (a probation time) of four months. The probationer is required to submit to a strict course of discipline. He must not enter the village too early nor come back to the vihāra too late. He must not frequent the society of objectionable persons such as harlots, widows, adult girls, eunuchs, or Bhikkhunis. The probationer is to be condemned when he does not show himself " skilled in the various things his fellow Bhikkhus have to do, is not diligent, not able to do things himself, and not able to give directions to others". He is also to be condemned when he does not show keen zeal when the doctrine is preached to him, or when questions are put on the same. He is also expected to be pleased when the Buddha is praised, and not to be displeased when the sect he has deserted is criticized.

A probationary Bhikkhu, further, is not entitled to the full privileges belonging to a regular Bhikkhu. His shall be the worst seat, the worst sleeping place, and the worst room in the hostel. He must not live on alms personally received. He is not fit for a forest life (for he always needs control and guidance).

" He must always live with a regular Bhikkhu ". But he must not live with Bhikkhus of communities different from his own. And while living with a regular Bhikkhu he is to observe various forms of showing honour to him.¹²⁰

The other three kinds of probation are of the nature of penal discipline for a certain period to be submitted to by Bhikkhus who violated rules by living in lay society in unlawful association with the World, for which he was placed on probation under an Act of Subordination passed against him. Later on he rehabilitated himself by correct conduct. The act of subordination would also be padded to punish the offences of staying too long in a public rest-house and frequenting a village on more than ordinary occasions.¹²¹ Numerous, indeed, are the forbidden practices of the monks under training. The following practices among others are forbidden ; injuring plants or vegetables (whence agriculture is tabooed as an occupation of the Bhikkhu), strong up property, witnessing public spectacles (like theatrical representations, recitations, concerts, musters and reviews of troops, engaging in games detrimental to progress in virtue, adorning bodies, indulging in mean talk (including fortune-telling), wrangling and acting as a go-between (between kings, ministers, etc.).

Studies of Monks of different grades :

The ordinary instructions of a pupil-monk seems to have comprised of giving recitation, holding examination, making exhortation, and explaining Dhamma". We read¹²²

of some Bhikkhus specializing in reciting the Dhamma, of some in propounding the Suttantas, some in the Vinaya, and of some specializing as preachers of the Dhamma. The ¹²³ Bhikkhus as students were assigned to different classes according to their progress in studies. The lowest class seems to have been made up of students "who were repeaters of the Suttantas". The method recommended for this rote-learning was "to chant over the Suttantas to one another". The next higher class was of those students "who were in charge of the Vinaya" which they would master by discussing it with the one another. To a yet higher class belonged to those Bhikkhus who were training themselves up as teachers of the Dhamma. And as part of this training, they were required to talk over the Dhamma one with another before they should preach it to others. There were, lastly, Bhikkhus of the highest classes who were given to meditation, i.e. the practice of the four Jhānas or meditations (for the definition of which see Rhys Davids' Buddhism, p. 176 and Mrs. Rhys Davids' Buddhism, pp. 199-200). Besides these classes of students, some Bhikkhus were distinguished and classed as Epicurians, being wise in worldly lore and abounding in bodily vigour. All these different classes of students ¹²⁴ cause disturbance to their different studies.

Subject taught :

The curriculum of the monks included what are termed Suttanta, Dhamma, and Vinaya, together with Suttas and Suttavibhaṅga. The meanings of these terms as used in the earlier texts are different from their accepted and later meanings. Thus there is a passage in the Pātimokkha (p. 50) which refers

to the Dhammas as being included in the Suttas, the former comprising the scheme of offences given in the Pātimokkha, and the latter standing for the separate clauses of that Formulary (cf. also *Ullavaṅga* iv, 22, 23 ; *Mahāvagga* i, 36, 14). The use of the word Sutta is not yet confined to the texts of what is afterwards known as the Suttapiṭaka. " In the oldest tradition the discourses or conversations now called Suttas seem not to have been called by that name, but are referred to as Suttantas. We read of some well-known Suttantas¹²⁶. We also read of brethren reciting the Dhamma, those versed in the Suttantas intoning some Suttantas together, the custodians of the Vinaya discussing the Vinaya, and the purchasers of the Dhamma discoursing about the Dhamma", as regards the term -Sutta-vibhāṅga, it is used to indicate from the Suttas of the Pātimokkha. ' The Suttas have been handed down to him, but not the Suttavibhāṅga ".

Teaching mainly oral :

Education in the age of these earlier Buddhist texts was not yet depending upon written literature. This however, does not mean that the art of writing was not developed then. It is referred to as a source of livelihood or an occupation in the *Mahāvagga* (i, 49, 1). The *Vibhāṅga* recommends to the Bhikkhunis the art of writing (SBE., Vol., 13, p. xxxiii), while the *Sutta-Vibhāṅga* in explaining another passage from the same refers to the possibility of causing the death of a person by mischievous and misleading representations in writing (SBE., op.cit). But the evidence available does not point to the use of writing for the purpose of preserving and transmitting an extensive sacred literature. As Doctors Rhys Davids and Oldenberg point out (ib).

there is not the least trace of any reference to manuscripts in the detailed accounts which the Vinaya texts give of the whole of the personal property of the Buddhist Ārāmas and Vihāras, of which all possible items from the bigger furniture to the smallest needle are enumerated or referred to. Along with manuscripts there are no references to such accessories of writing as ink, pen, style, leaves, or other materials for writing, nor to the operations connected with the copying out of manuscripts which must have occupied a large part of the activities of the monks should they have had to do with written literature for their education. But besides this negative evidence, there is positive evidence proving the very limited use of writing in those days for purposes of education. The Bhikkhus of a certain place not knowing the Pātomokkha, one of them is commissioned to learn from a neighbouring fraternity and import the knowledge (Mahāvagga, ii, 17). Similarly, we read of a lay-devotee or a Upāsaka inviting a fraternity of Bhikkhus to hear him recite an important Suttanta so that they might learn it and preserve it from oblivion. These passages show that the system of oral tradition was as much the characteristic of Buddhist as of Brahmanical education, though the causes of its adoption might be different in the two cases. It cannot consistently be supposed to Buddhists that they considered the writing of their sacred texts as an irreverent treatment of them or a sacrilege when they were so advanced in their views or so heterodox as to prefer the popular speech to the refined and sacred Sanskrit and abolish all distinction of caste within the pale of their fraternity. The disuse of writing was more probably due to the scarcity of any convenient practical material on which the known characters might be inscribed as pointed out by Rhys Davids (Oldenberg, (SBE., Ep. Cit.).

Medium of Instruction :

The community of Bhikkhus was like a school made up of different forms or classes representing different grades of talent, maturity, and progress in studies. But the Bhikkhus also differed from one another in other respects. Hailing from different parts of the country, they differed in their dialects, besides, "differing in name, lineage, birth, and family". We are told of two Bhikkhu brothers who were Brāhmaṇa by birth, excelling in speech, excelling in pronunciation "trying to reduce this conclusion of tongues among Bhikkhus by a proposal to adopt Sanskrit as their common language. Said they : "The Bhikkhus corrupt the word of the Buddha by repeating it in their own dialect. Let us, Lord, put the word of the Buddhas into Sanskrit verse (Chandas)". But the Buddha did not approve of the proposal, because it would not conduce to conversions but rather hinder them. Sanskrit would repel the ordinary people or masses who were to be reached through their own vernaculars. The religion of the Buddha meant for the classes as well masses thus cultivated, and was preached through, the popular speech as distinguished from the difficult and refined language, Sanskrit, especially in its earlier form Chandasa or Veda-dialect for which the two Brāhmaṇa brothers pleaded. The Buddha with perfect wisdom ruled : "I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to learn the word of the Buddhas each in his own dialect." (Cullavagga, 33,1). Thus Buddhism gave an impetus to the study of the vernacular dialects of the country which so much facilitated its spread to distant and different countries by means of missionaries as organized under the great emperor Asoka for instance.

The above story indicates that Sanskrit was supplanted and superseded as a medium of instruction in the Buddhist Schools by the vernacular dialects. When many Bhikkhus lived together in a monastery in rainy season, Buddha and his disciples gave sermons or made religious discussions in a common dialect understandable by all members coming from different parts of India. From a common dialect Pali language and literature of Theravāda school developed. Later on, other schools like Mahāsaṅghika, Sarvāstivāda, Mahāyāna, etc. adopted Prakrit, mixed Sanskrit, Pure Sanskrit and other dialects^{as} medium instruction and developed their literature.

Regular and Special Teachers :

Besides the regular teachers, the Upādhyāyas and Ācāryas, arrangements were also made for the imparting of instruction by distinguished teachers who were acknowledged as authorities and specialists in their subjects. Thus Upālī was such a specialist in the Vinaya, the Vinayadhara : " and so many Bhikkhus, old and middle-aged and young, learnt the Vinaya from the venerable Upālī¹²⁷ ". Thus the Vinaya classes that Upālī taught were very popular and largely attended. Upālī delivered his discourse standing, out of respect for the senior monks. And the Seniors heard him standing, out of respect for the subject of his discourse. The rule in such cases was for the teacher or lecturer to sit on a seat of equal height or higher, while his audience, if his seniors might sit on seats of equal height or lower (ib.).

Discussion as Method of Education :

The Buddhist system of education, like the Brahmanical, lays equal stress upon the efficacy of the method

of debate and discussions in Education. In fact, Buddhism, being more proselytizing than Vedism or Brahmanism, was more interested in the cultivation by its leaders and votaries of the powers of debate by which it could spread and win converts from other religions. The Buddha's whole career of forty-five years of ministry was practically a continuous round of debates and discussions with exponents of other schools of Thought or answering of questions put to him at the Assemblies of his own disciples. The canonical Buddhist Texts are full of references to the conversions of the Buddha, following his delivery of a discourse. Indian religion had already then, as we have seen, split-up into any number of Schools and Sects whose followers, organized into ascetic brotherhoods like the Buddhists, were constantly meeting at Assemblies for discussions of their different doctrines. The Sutta Nipāta (382) characterizes these Brāhmaṇa ascetics, Parivṛājakas, as Vādasīla, disputatious, Vitandās, and Lokāyatas, sophists, casuists, and materialists. There are many instances recorded in Buddhist Texts of the leaders of Brahmanical ascetic sects meeting the Buddha at discussions. Similarly, Jainism also had to take its part in the religious disputations of the day. We read how the followers of Pārśva led by Keśī had a fateful discussion with those of Mahāvīra under Gautama in the Park called Tinduka at Śrāvastī as a result of which Jainism divided into two sects. ~~There were similar controversies between the followers of Mahāvīra under Gautama in the Park called Tinduka at Sravasti, as a result of which Jainism divided into two sects.~~ There were similar controversies between the followers of Mahāvīra and Gosāla, followed by a similar Schism.

The places of such important discussions which marked cultural and religious life in those days were

public halls which are called in Pali texts *Santhāgāras* or *Sama-yappavādaka-Sālās*. They also mention some places where such discussions actually took place : the Hall in Queen Mallika's Park at *Śrāvastī* for " discussion of different systems of opinion " the Gabled Pavillion erected by the Licchavis in the *Mahāvana* outside *Vaisālī* ; the sweet-smelling *Campaka* grove on the lake of Queen *Gaggara* at *Campa* ; or the *Moranivāpa* (Where peacocks were fed) at *Rājagṛha*, *Parivrajaka* centre under *Sakuldāyī* .

Buddhist literature throws considerable light on the rules for the conduct of such discussions and proceedings of the *Saṅgha*. The earliest work describing the methods of disputation is the *Kathāvatthu* (1,1-60) of *Asoka*'s time. The *Ullavagga* gives an elaborate account of the working of *Saṅgha* as democratic parliamentary assemblies (ib., pp. 209 - 216). The *Saṅgha* as a body by a Resolution must fix the place of the meeting, which must be duly announced, so that members might be cognizant of it. In the meeting, the *Theras* must assemble first. They must get the young *Bhikkhus* who are residents of that place to sweep it beforehand, prepare seats, light, lamps, and provide for drink and food. The meeting must be attended by every member of the fraternity. If a member is sick, he must send a declaration of his innocence before he assembled Chapter through ; other *Bhikkhu*. Otherwise, he must be carried on his bed or chair to the Assembly, or, if he is too ill, the Assembly must go to him and hold their meeting so as to secure his attendance. The exemption from attendance was granted only to a member who had turned mad. The confession was not common or collective, but individual. The common offence of the whole *Saṅgha* was to be confessed before the guiltless *Bhikkhu* of another diocess.

Next to these half-monthly confession, meetings was the yearly recurring ceremony of ' Pavāraṇā or Invitation to be initiated with the following words : " I invite the Saṅgha to chargeⁿ me with any offence they think me guilty of, which they have seen or heard of, or which they suspect during the period of Vassa⁻¹²⁹."

The Buddha's Daily Life as the Standard for Monks :

The Buddha's life, which may be taken as setting the standard to which that of all Bhikkhus must approximate, has been described in Buddhaghosa's commentary on the first of the Dialogues of Gotama. " He rose early in the morning (i.e. about 5 a.m.) and out of consideration for his personal attendant, was wont to wash and dress himself, without calling for any assistance. Then, till it was time to go on his round for alms, he would retire to a solitary place and meditate. When that time arrived, he would dress himself completely in the three robes, take his bowl in his hand and, sometimes alone, and sometimes attended by his followers, would enter the neighbouring village or town for alms. Then the people understanding that to-day it is the Blessed one who has come for alms ' would vie with one another saying : ' To-day, Sir, take your meal with us ; we shall make a provision for ten and we for twenty, and we for hundred of your followers'. So saying, they would take his bowl, and, spreading^a mats for him, and his attendant followers, would await the moment when the meal was over. Then would the Blessed one, when the meal was done, discourse to them, with due regard to their capacity for spiritual things, in such a way that some would take the layman's vow, and some would enter on the paths, and some would reach the

highest fruit there of. This done he would arise from his seat and depart to the place where he had lodged. And when he had come there, he would sit in the open verandah, awaiting the time when the rest of his followers should also have finished their meal. And when his attendant announced that they had done so, he would enter his private apartment. Thus was he occupied upto the midday meal. Then afterwards, standing at the door of his chamber, he would exhort the congregation of brethren into strenuous efforts after the higher life. Then would some of them ask him to suggest a subject for meditation suitable to the spiritual capacity of each, and when he had done so, they would retire each to the solitary place he was wont to frequent, and meditate on the subject set. Then would the Blessed one retire within the private chamber for short rest during the heat of the day. Then, when his body was ~~rested~~^{settled}, he would arise from the couch, and for a space consider the circumstances of the people near, that he might do them good. And, at the fall of the day, the folk from the neighbouring villages or town would gather at the place where he was lodging, and to them, seated in the lecture hall, would he in a manner suitable to the occasion and to their beliefs, discourse on the truth. Then, seeing that the proper time had come, he would dismiss the folk. Thus was he occupied in the afternoon. Then, at close of the day, should he feel to need the refreshment of a bath, he would bathe, the while some brother of the order, attendant on him, would prepare the divan in the chamber perfumed with flowers. And in the evening, he would sit a while alone, still in all his robes, till the brethren returned from their meditations began to assemble. Then some would ask him questions on things that puzzle them, some would speak of their meditations, some would ask for an exposition

of the truth. Thus would the first watch of the night ; as the Blessed one satisfied the desire of each and then they would take their leave. And part of the rest of the night would he spend in meditation, walking up and down outside his Chamber, and part he would rest, lying down, calm and self-possessed within " (Adapted from translation of Rhys Davds.).

Monks seeking solitude of forests for meditation :

Upto now we have been considering the system under which the monks live together in a state of mutual dependence and relationship for purposes of their self-culture. But the quest of the Ideal which leads these monks out of home into homelessness would not make some of them accept the half-way house of a monastery, but seek the solitude of the forest for a life of meditation. " Many of the Order, unfitted for taking part, even as teachers, in the battle of life, spent all their days in seclusion, being known as forester Bhikkhus. Others sought the silence of the upland woods and caves to complete the utter mastery of detachment, requisite to usher in the cool and peace of Nibbāna, or to recruit from wearing mission work¹³⁰. It was the elderly and matured Bhikkhus who were eligible for the forester's life. The Buddha himself would sometimes seek in solitude a respite from the worries caused by " litigious, contentious, quarrelsome, and disputatious Bhikkhus " and like the tusker would " take delight in dwelling alone in the forest"¹³¹. We read of the venerable Bhaddiya living " in the forest, at the foot of a tree in solitude,¹³² but without fear or anxiety, with mind as peaceful as an antelope's " Another monk, Kassapagotta, lived alone at Vāsabha-gāma in Kāśī,

where he was visited by some Bhikkhus whom he entertained as guests on proceeds of his begging for several days till their travel weariness was over.¹³³ We are also told of the other monk keeping Vassā alone, receiving robes and dividing them among incoming monks not exceeding four in number (Maj., viii, 24). Life in solitude was sustained by a love of it for its own sake which utters itself significantly in Buddhist literature." It is pleasant to see how largely the joy of life in the wild gets blended with the spiritual aspirations.

Education of the Laity :

We have already seen how intimately was the Buddhist Church or Saṅgha concerned and connected with a laity upon whom it depended for its very support and maintenance. The Laity were those who believed in Buddhism but did not choose to belong to the order and be ruled by its discipline. Now the order or the monastery educated those who were its members living under a common roof and did not admit day scholars to its education. Thus the Laity had to seek other centres and means of education. Nevertheless the young Church was vitally interested in the growth of a believing and pious laity for the regulation of whose life rules are accordingly laid down. The laity are sought to be marked out from the general public by applying to them the terms Upāsaka (for the males) and Upāsikā (for the females) when they formally declare that they take refuge with the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Saṅgha. But this declaration was not insisted upon as a rule. We find ordinary people, honouring and entertaining the monks, being called Upāsakas, and also Buddhist Upāsakas being

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Upāsakas of another Church. There were also laid down certain duties of temperance and rectitude, but the Church had no part in securing their fulfilment. The only step that the Church took to keep the laity in order was by a declaration of boycott whereby "the bowl was turned down" in respect of the offenders, for it met only the prohibition of giving and receiving, material gifts and spiritual instructions as between the two parties (Oldenberg, Buddha, pp. 383, 384). Certain business pursuits were also forbidden the laity, e.g. dealing in arms, intoxicating liquors, in poison, etc.. A Comprehensive list of the duties of the laity is given in the Sigālevāda Sutta which classifies them according to the several capacities or relationships householders have. The duties, for instance, of parents and children, of pupils and Teachers, of Laymen and monks are laid down. It is the duty of parents to have their children taught arts or Sciences." The pupil should honour his teachers by (1) rising in their presence ; (2) ministering to them ; (3) obeying them ; (4) supplying their wants ; (5) attention^{to} instruction. The teacher should show his affection for the pupils by (1) training them in all that is good ; (2) teaching them to hold knowledge fast ; (3) instruction in science and lore ; (4) speaking well of them to their friends and companions ; (5) guarding them from danger ". Among the duties of the monk towards the layman are to instruct him in religion, to solve his doubts, etc. A specimen of the instruction of the laity by monks is given in the Vinaya¹³⁵ where the emperor Bimbisāra, holding his rule and sovereignty over 80,000 townships, asks the overseers of those townships to wait upon the Buddha for " instruction in the things of eternity ". The Buddha "held to them discourse in due order", speaking of

" giving ,righteousness,heaven,the danger,worthlessness and depravity of lusts,and of the advantage of renunciation."

It is thus clear that the laity depended for their religious education upon the monasteries which were the exclusive centres of such education because the monks alone had the monopoly as specialists and experts in the knowledge of the sacred lore.It is also clear that for their general, non-religious or secular education the laity and the Public at large had to depend upon the systems and centres of education that existed in the country outside the Buddhist monasteries.We shall ~~later~~ proceed to give an account of these on the basis of the evidence available in Buddhist literature of which the literature of the Jātaka forms the principal part and will thus claim our chief attention.

Women in Buddhist Education :

Let us now discuss in brief the position of women in the Buddhist monasteries after their entry into the Saṅgha. Women by virtue of their sheer merit could even attain the highest spiritual bliss.There was,however,no difference between a monk and a nun in this regard.All were treated with equality in the Buddhist order.Hence,we find how sister Nandā had " by the complete destruction of the five bonds that bind people to this world become an interior of the highest heavens,there to pass entirely away,hence never to return " and how Sujātā was " assured of final salvation ". In the ¹³⁶Anguttaranikāya also we observe that if five ways will reap one of two rewards ; either perfect knowledge (aññā) in this life,or the state of a non-returner

(^a angāmitā) at the end of this life. This shows that both the male and female members of the Vihāras were of somewhat equal status. Theoretically, thus, no distinction was made between a monk and a nun. But in actual practice and treatment the bhikkhunīs were not so much honoured as the bhikkhus. Thus a man was enjoined to treat the monks with humility ; she should not sit on a seat or on the ground in front of a monk without asking leave¹³⁷, unless she was ill ; she also should not ask questions relating to the Vinaya, Sutta, or the Abhidhamma without asking his leave.¹³⁸

Buddha, as stated already, was reluctant in respect of women's entry and ordination in the Saṅgha. It was only after the double pressure of his foster-mother, Maṇāpajāpati, and his favourite disciple, Ānanda, that the Buddha, with considerable reluctance and misgivings, consented to admit women as his¹³⁹ disciples on their renouncing the World and householder's state. But the rules laid down for regulating their life betray at every step the mental and moral inferiority attributed to the other sex. They keep the nuns in a condition of complete subordination to the monks. The first of the eight chief Rules (Aṭṭhagurudhammā) for them ordains that, " a Bhikkhunī even of a hundred years' standing " must look up to a Bhikkhu " if only just initiated. Under other rules, the order of nuns could not complete any transaction unless it was confirmed by the Chapter of the monks, while, as regards the ordination of a nun, the probationary period is made as long as two years, after which the ordination has to be sanctioned by both the Saṅghas of Nuns and Monks. Other rules enjoined strict separation between monks and nuns. A monk specially selected by the brotherhood was to impart instruction and admonition to the nuns

twice every month in the presence of another monk. The discipline and duties of daily life were the same for nuns as for monks except that solitary life was practically forbidden them.

With all these restrictions based on the estimate of women's worth, the order of Nuns opened up avenues of culture and social service to the women of Buddhist India for which some of them became very distinguished. The Church was also able to engage to a remarkable extent the sympathy and generosity of many a lay lady. The munificence of the matron Visākḥā is equalled only by that of the merchant prince Anāthapiṇḍika. Visākḥā was the head of an illustrious roll which included many other names, like Ambapāllī of Vaiśālī or Supriyā of Benares. Whatever might be his opinion on the womanhood, the Buddha was always generously responsive to the offers of hospitality and financial support proceeding from individual women of religious zeal.

But besides producing some remarkable characters among the laity of the other sex, Buddhism produced numerous remarkable women within its own fold, who played a prominent part as leaders of thought in that religious reformation. The order of nuns was the training ground of men in the order of monks. We have unfortunately hardly any information in the sacred works, giving details of the actual training they had in the nunneries.

That some of the nuns qualified themselves in the knowledge of the sacred texts so far as to be accepted the teachers of other junior nuns is evident from a passage in the Cullavagga (x, 8), which mentions that a

Bhikkhūñī was the pupil of the Bhikkhūñī Uppalavannā. Regarding their studies, the same passage informs us that the Bhikkhūñī "followed the Blessed one for seven years, learning the Vinaya, but she, being forgetful, lost it as fast as she received it". It was then ordained that Bhikkhus should teach the Vinaya to Bhikkhūñīs.

CONSTITUTION OF THE BUDDHIST SAṄGHA :

The Constitution of the Buddhist Saṅgha was no doubt of a democratic type and its monks members enjoyed constitutional rights and privileges which were all on the same footing. Sukumar Dutt refers to the constitution of the Buddhist Saṅgha. He describes, ¹⁴⁰ "The idea of the paramount authority of a person— a organised head, a spiritual dictator, an abbot or a Gaṇadhara was foreign to the Republic Constitution of an early Buddhist Saṅgha. The Republican Church Government of the early Buddhists seems to be striking in its originality. Yet the fact must not be forgotten that the political Constitution of many tribes whence Buddhist Bhikkhus were largely recruited was of a Republican type. ¹⁴¹ The people were quite familiar and conversant with free institutions like voting, Committee, popular tribunals, and collective legislation, and if many of them were readily transplanted in the Buddhist Saṅgha, there is nothing surprising or unnatural in the process. Dr. K. P. Jayaswal has hazarded the conjecture that "the Buddhist brotherhood, the Saṅgha, was copied out from the political Saṅgha, the Republic, in this Constitution. ¹⁴² " But this remains a brilliant conjecture only, though by no means an improbable one, in the present state of our knowledge.

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N.Dutt gives an account of the Constitution of the Buddhist Sangha. He states, " We shall now turn to the Constitution of the Saṅgha that led to the growth of the several Buddhist institutions or Saṅghārāmas which trained up the Buddhist monks and sent them out to the World to preach the religion and alleviate human sufferings. A glance at the ancient map of India shows what a large number of such institutions grew up in the different parts of India and how magnificent were some of them, their ruins striking as even to-day with awe and wonder. These Saṅghārāmas wielded at a time a great amount of influence over the people of India. Some of these institutions were built up by the devotees at an immense expense and were large enough to accommodate thousands of monks. They were mostly located at a distance from the din and bustle, but not beyond the easy reach, of the City to which the inmates looked for their daily necessities of life. The sites chosen by them were in many cases valleys separated from the inhabited localities by hills, mountains or forests. In cases where such sites were not available, they were shut out from the World by huge walls with gates guarded by competent gate-keepers. Great discretion was used to keep the site aloof from the distractions of the town or village life, giving at the same time an opportunity to the townsfolk and villagers to frequent the āvāsas for listening to religious discourses and making their offerings. An individual monk or a donor was not allowed to select the site for a monastery. It is enjoined in the Pātimokkha-Sutta that it must be done by a group of monks. The Saṅghārāmas offered shelter to all who submitted to the discipline enforced in them and dedicated their lives to the cause

of Buddhism. There appeared from among them brilliant intellects who would shed lustre on any sphere of activities that might be allotted to them. The training imparted by these scholars produced a number of expositors of Buddhist Philosophy and religion who carried far and wide the torch of Buddhism within and outside India. In short, these institutions radiated the force which made Buddhism an all-Asiatic faith.

To these institutions flocked from different aims and inclinations. They remained there under the strict disciplinary rules for years, receiving instructions from distinguished monks ; and it was only when they were found thoroughly chastened in body and spirit that they were sent out to the outside World for carrying on the work of the great teacher. The fame of the institutions at Takṣasīla, Nālandā, Sārnāth, Ajantā or Amarāvati reached far-off places like China, Central Asia, Siam, Cambodia and Ceylon, and attracted hundreds of students of India.

Ecclesiastical Acts (Saṅghakamma) and Punishments :

Buddha and other senior members of the Saṅgha introduced certain acts of punishment to prevent offences and stop misbehaviour committed by careless and reluctant monk with a view to welfare of Buddhist people in general.

Any act which is related to the Saṅgha in any way was a Saṅghakamma. Several Buddhist texts refer to various types of Saṅghakamma. According to them, some acts were disciplinary and disputable and some were non-disciplinary and non-disputable. The Parivāsa, the Maṇatta, the Tajjaniya, the

Pubbajaniya, the Paṭisāraṇiya and the Brahmadaṇḍa belonged to the first group, although it is non-disciplinary and non-disputable, had its importance in the Buddhist Saṅgha. Its ecclesiastical acts such as the Upasampadā, the Uposatha, the Pavāraṇā, the Kathina, the Abbhāna etc. played their great roles in the Buddhist Saṅgha for progress and growth of Buddhism. It is to be noted here that at the time of the performance of a Saṅghakamma all monks who lived within the sīmā of an āvāsa were present. Their presence was compulsory. But if someone failed to appear in person, he sent his consent and then his presence was counted by proxy. The Buddhist Saṅgha introduced several rules for the various Saṅghakammās. The number of monks which constituted an assembly was necessary for these purposes. The Mahāvagga refers to four monks for all ecclesiastical acts except the Upasampadā, Pavāraṇā and Abbhāna, five monks for all ecclesiastical acts except the Upasampadā in border countries and Abbhāna, ten monks for all ecclesiastical acts except Abbhāna, and twenty monks and upwards for Abbhāna and all other ecclesiastical acts. It is interesting to note here that every member of an assembly had the right to express his opinion in an assembly meeting of an ecclesiastical⁵ act.

Every act was performed with the resolution which was presented before the Assembly thrice and when all the members gave their consent, then it was passed by the assembly meeting. It not only shows that all ecclesiastical acts were based on democratic ideals, but also indicates that every opinion had some value in the Buddhist Saṅgha.

Sukumar Dutt gives an account of the Saṅghakammās. From his account we get an idea of these ecclesiastical acts.

He describes, " A primitive āvāsa was a Republican colony of Buddhist Bhikkhus as directly democratic in its Constitution as any City-state of ancient Greece. The Government was based on Universal suffrage, and every duly qualified member had an equal right of participation in it. Any transaction which might affect the Saṅgha in any way was called a Saṅghakamma. There were various forms Saṅghakamma" (*Early Buddhist Monachism*, pp. 146 f.).

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Dr. N. Dutt also gives a brief account of these acts and punishments :

The Saṅgha grew up into an out and out corporate institution and performed every ecclesiastical act of any importance in an assembly in which the presence in person or by proxy of all monks dwelling within the sīmā of an āvāsa was compulsory. Every act had to be performed by putting the resolution in formal words before the assembly once or twice, usually thrice and could be passed only on the unanimous consent of all the members. There were āvāsas in unwanted places in which the numbers of bhikkhus was so small that no assembly in its proper sense could be held, so a minimum number was fixed for the validity of certain ecclesiastical acts.

Among the ecclesiastical acts figured largely disciplinary measures taken for the breach of any rule for any moral delinquency, procedure for finding out the guilt of a monk and inflicting punishment therefore, conduct of the monks while undergoing disciplinary punishment, and the Saṅgha. The disciplinary measures as enunciated in the Cullavagga are :-

Tajjanīyakamma :

A monk who is quarrelsome and pick -up

quarrels within the Saṅgha , or one who is foolish and given to commission of offences (āpatti), or one who comes into frequent contact with householders deserves censure (tājjanīyakamma). A monk who is not scrupulous about his moral conduct and doctrinal views, or one who speaks ill of Buddha and Saṅgha also deserves censure (tājjanīyakamma).

The procedure for inflicting the tājjanīyakamma is as follows :-

The guilty bhikkhu should be first warned, then reminded of the rule of Paṭimokkha which he is infringing, and then charged with the offence alleged to have been committed by him.

A qualified bhikkhu is to move thrice before the Saṅgha which must be complete the ^ñatti that so and so is guilty of such and such an offence, and request the Saṅgha, if it thinks fit, to pronounce the tajjanīyakamma against him. The guilty bhikkhu also must be present at the meeting and given an opportunity to defend himself, or to confess his guilt. Any deviation from the procedure described above made the act invalid.

The monk, against whom tajjanīyakamma is pronounced, is denied the following privileges : He cannot

- (I) Confer upasampadā,
- (II) give nissaya (instruction) to a sāmaṇa,
- (III) take a sāmaṇera,
- (IV) exhort the nuns even if he had been comm-
anted for the purpose beforehand.
- (V) object to the presence of a particular bhi-
kkhu in Uposatha or Pavāraṇa ceremony.
- (VI) guide the movements of a younger monk.
- (VII) move any resolution for censuring a bhikkhu,
- (VIII) Warn a monk or remind him of his offence.

If the monk so censured observes the above restrictions without any demur against any member of the assembly inflicting the punishment, the tajjanīyakamma will be revoked. The revocation will have to be effected by a competent bhikkhu by placing the case before Saṅgha with the request to revoke the punishment. The guilty bhikkhu also must appear before the Saṅgha and respectfully request for its revocation. A competent bhikkhu then announces the resolution thrice before the Saṅgha and if there be no objection, the tajjanīyakamma is revoked.

Nissayakammas : If a monk, though indiscrete and indiscriminate in his association with the householders and prone to commit minor offences, takes part in ecclesiastical matters like giving pari-vāsa (probation), mūlaya paṭikassanā (renewal of probation), mānatta (suspension for sāṅghādiseṣa offences) and abbāna (recall of monks to the Saṅgha), the Saṅgha should pronounce against him nissayakamma i.e. compel him to take a teacher, abide by his instructions, and study with him the Piṭakas. The procedure for pronouncing the nissayakamma, the disabilities prescribed, and the manner of revocation are all similar to those of tajjanīyakamma dealt with above.

Pabbajaniyakamma : If a monk becomes a defiler of good families (kuladūṣakā) and gives himself up to unholy conducts (pāpasamācāra) like garlanding, and encouraging playing, singing and dancing deserves pabbajaniyakamma (temporary removal from the monastery). The same may also be pronounced against one who is quarrelsome, unscrupulous about moral conduct and doctrinal views, picks up quarrels in the Saṅgha, or speaks ill of Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha, or one who is frivolous (dava), or lacks in manners (anācāra), or earns his food by evil means, or harms others either by speech or action or both.

A monk punished with pabbajaniyakamma is required to leave the monastery, behave properly in his new residence, and observe all the restrictions imposed upon him. The restrictions imposed upon him. The restrictions imposed and the procedure for inflicting and revoking the disciplinary measure is similar to that of tajjanīyakamma.

Paṭisāraṇīyakamma : The Paṭisāraṇīyakamma (act one asks for pardon) is pronounced against a monk who tries to cause loss to a house-holder, or reviles him, or speaks ill of Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha in his presence or runs him down. A bhikkhu so punished should have properly as indicated in the case of tajjanīyakamma, and the procedure for inflicting and revoking the disciplinary measures is the same as in tajjanīyak^{amma}. Before the Paṭisāraṇīyakamma can be revoked, the guilty bhikkhu is required to approach the offended house-holder and ask his pardon, or he may take an attendant (amudata) formally selected by the Saṅgha to ask for him pardon of the householder.

Ukkhepanīyakamma : A monk who declines to acknowledge or confess the offences committed by him, or upholds an un-Buddhistic doctrine in spite of being asked to give it up is liable to Ukkhepanīyakamma (act of suspension), i.e. he is not allowed to dwell, or take food with other monks, or associate himself in any way with them. The procedure for fixing the guilt upon the offending monk and also the ultimate revocation of the punishments is the same as that of tajjanīyakamma. Besides, the disabilities prescribed for tajjanīyak, the monk is prohibited from repeating the offence for which he is punished, receiving salutations, courtesies, or services from other monks, bringing any charge against another bhikkhu, taking the dress of a householder or a tittbiya, or performing any ecclesiastical ceremony in company of other monks.

Brahmadanda, i.e. sublime punishment. It is mentioned in the Maṭṭhapaṇiṣṭhāna Sutta that Buddha imposed Brahmadanda on Channa, his former charioteer for the fault of having pride to help Siddhartha to leave the royal palace. The punishment is thus: Channa would be monks as he liked but the monks would neither speak with nor instruct him.

: Paṭikkossanā, Nissāraṇa and Osāraṇa :

Three other disciplinary measures are mentioned in the Mahāvagga(1x,4)..viz., Paṭikosāṇā, nissāraṇa and Osāraṇa.

Paṭikkosāṇa (reproving) is a mild form of disciplinary measure applied for minor derelictions. A nun, a female novice or an insane monk, or a monk against whom ukkhepaniyakamma has already been pronounced are not to be reproved. Those who commit heinous crimes, or joins a titthiya order, or pass the sima are also beyond reproof.

Nissāraṇa is a general term for expulsion of bhikkhus from the Saṅgha while Osāraṇa is the act of revocation of a disciplinary measure, including Parivāsa. All the exceptions mentioned as above in the case of Paṭikkosāṇā are applicable to these two disciplinary measures also.

Parivāsa, Malaya Paṭikassanā, Mānatta and Abhāna :

There are four kinds of Parivāsa. One of which is the probationary period of four months prescribed for persons belonging to Non-Buddhistic sects and desiring to enter the Buddhist order. The other three are prescribed for Saṅghadisesa offences. A Parivāsika cannot dwell with a regular monk under the same roof or at the same spot, but he cannot also dwell alone in a monastery in which there is no regular bhikkhu. While undergoing parivāsa, a monk is debarred from enjoying the usual privileges of a bhikkhu, some of which are mentioned above in connection with tajjaniya and ukkhepaniya kammās.

There are several other minor restrictions, among which one is that a parivāsika monk has got to tell every incoming bhikkhu that he is a parivāsika, and the other is that he is to announce the same personally in every Pātimokkha or Pavāraṇā assembly. In short, a parivāsika bhikkhu has to behave like an unclean person and keep himself aloof from the generality of monks. If a monk fails to observe three of these restrictions viz., saḥavāsa, vippavāsa, and anārocaṇa, he is regarded as having broken the vow of probation. A parivāsika can terminate temporarily his probationary period, and resume it with the permission of the Saṅgha.

Mānatta and Parivāsa are prescribed for Saṅghādisesa offences. The former is limited to six days during which period a monk is debarred from enjoying the usual privileges of the membership of a Saṅgha. The latter is of three kinds, (i) Paṭicchanna; (ii) Siddhanta and (iii) Samodhāna. If a guilty monk conceals (paṭicchadeti) his guilt for a certain period, his period of probation extends to the number of days he had concealed it plus the six days for mānatta, while for one who has not concealed his guilt, no parivāsa is prescribed, he is to observe only mānatta. For persons who cannot remember the number of days he has concealed the offences committed by him, Siddhantaparivāsa is prescribed, the parivāsa in that case is to extend over as many days as have passed between the day of his ordination and commencement of his parivāsa. When an offence is committed during the period probation, the guilty person is required to go through the probation a new and the period of parivāsa already observed by him is not taken into account. This is called samodhāna parivāsa. In both the cases, mānatta also has to be observed after the parivāsa period.

It is after the mānatta which lasts for six days, that the monk is recalled (abbhāna) to the Saṅgha provided he has observed properly the restrictions imposed upon him for parivāsa and mānatta. If he has failed to do so, he is given mūlāya-paṭikassanā, i.e. he is to undergo parivāsa or mānatta anew for the offence committed by him during the period of parivāsa or mānatta.

THE PĀTIMOKKHA CODE : There are two Pātimokkha codes, one for the monks and the other for the nuns. In the Bhikkhu-pātimokkha there are ~~eight~~ sections, and in the Bhikkhuni-pātimokkha ~~seven~~. The ecclesiastical offences are arranged in them in a gradual order from the more serious to the lighter ones. *Buddha frequently admonished his disciples to be restrained according to rules of Pātimokkha.*

Bhikkhu Pātimokkha

SECTION 1 mentions four offences under the heading Parājikā=(lit., those immoral actions by which a bhikkhu is overcome (parājita), i.e. make him unfit to remain within the order.) Commission of any of these entails expulsion from the order. These four relate to misconduct with women or ^{animal} animals (bhikkhūnaṃ dhammaṃ paṭiseveyya), theft (adānnaṃ theyyasakhatam adāyeyya), murder or abetment of murder (manussaviggahaṃ jīvitaṃ vopapeyya) and exaggeration of one's power of performing miracles (uttarimanassadhammaṃ attupayikaṃ).

SECTION-11 deals with thirteen offences under the heading Saṅghādisesa (Saṅgha + ādi + śeṣaḥ). It is so called because infliction of punishment and absolution from the offences must have the sanction of the Saṅgha at the beginning and end. A monk is first taken before the Saṅgha for the punishment to be undergone by him, i.e., temporary exclusion from the Saṅgha and so forth, and then after

having undergone the punishment, he is to appear again before the Saṅgha (composed of at least 20 monks) to obtain permission for rejoining the order. Of the thirteen offences, the first five relate to sex matters; the next two (6 - 7) to the construction of cottages by monks; nos. 8-9 to false accusations; nos. 10-11 to dissensions in the Saṅgha; and the last two (nos. 12-13) to obstinacy of monks and their refusal to have admonitions.

SECTIONS-III speaks of two kinds of offences concerning the conduct of a monk with a woman. The guilt of the monk may or may not be of a serious nature, so the punishment may range from that inflicted for Pārājikā to that for Pācittiya. On account of this reason, this section is entitled Aniyatā (i.e., to be decided).

SECTION -IV is called Nissaggiya-pācittiya (naihsargikaprayścittikah). It contains 26 restrictions to be observed by monks while accepting gifts of robes (cīvara), woollen mats (santhatam), bowl and medicinal requisites- and four miscellaneous rules, one of which is about the acceptance of gold and silver, two are about the engagement of monks in buying and selling, and the fourth (no. 30) is a general direction that a monk must not appropriate to himself anything given to the Saṅgha in general. The punishment prescribed for the offences falling within this section is that the things, received by a monk in contravention of the condition imposed, must be given up (nissaggiya) and then he must express regret for it (pācittiya) formally.

SECTION -V is entitled Pācittiya and contains ninety-two rules, which, it seems, have been drawn up as circumstances have arisen and hence lack a system. There are in it restrictions prohibiting the monks from lying and slandering, digging earth or cutting trees or drinking water carelessly and thereby committing insecticide,

giving food to the Parivrajakas or Acelakas, -showing disrespect to the teaching of Buddha, Vinaya teachers or the rules of the Pātimokkha, instructing unordained persons or giving ordination to persons below twenty, -not complying with the conditions down for imparting instructions to nuns, -visiting soldiers or entering king's chamber, -removing valuables from a monastery, -giving unnecessarily mental pain to comrades, bringing a false charge of Saṅghādisesa against any monk, -associating with unordained women, -and disobeying the orders of the Saṅgha. Besides these prohibitions there are some general directions regarding bed, seat, robes, bath and such other things of daily life of a monk while living in a monastery. The offences included in this section are regarded not serious and hence expiation from them is attained by simple confession before a monk or by self-imposition of parivāsa.

SECTION-VI contains four rules and is entitled Pāṭidesaniya, i.e., absolution from the offences included in this section is obtained by formal confession. All the rules relate to the taking of food by a monk without it being offered by any person.

SECTION-VII entitled Sekhiya contains 75 instructions, in eight sub-sections, for the good conduct of monks. By the first twenty-six rules, bhikkhus are directed how to enter into the houses of laymen by the subsequent 35 rules (26-60), they are instructed how to take food inoffensively and how to behave while eating, and after finishing meals. Rules nos. 61 and 62 prohibit monks from entering into a sick-room with shoes on, and the rule nos. 63-72 point out the places and circumstances, in which instructions are not to be imparted to laymen and the last two (nos. 74 and 75) forbid monks from committing nuisance on green grass or in water.

As this section deals with more or less general advices for good conduct, no punishment is prescribed for a person deviating from the rules.

SECTION - VIII is entitled Adhikarapa-samatha or the ways of settling disputed matters. Observance of the Pātimokkha rules occasioned differences of opinion among the members of the Saṅgha and hence, some rules became necessary for their settlement. The rules are as follows :-

- (1) Sammukhavinaya (Mvyut. sammakha-vinayaḥ) = the method of settling disputes either in the presence of the Saṅgha, or by a reference to the Piṭakas, or by the disputing persons, coming face to face and making up the difference.
- (2) Sativinaya (Muyut. smṛtivinayaḥ) = the method of settling disputes, arising out of a charge that may have been brought against a monk who denies it, by requesting him to appear before the Saṅgha and to declare that he is innocent as far as his memory goes. The members who form such a Saṅgha must be distinguished in the power of recollection.
- (3) Amuḥavinaya (Mvyut. amūḥavinayaḥ) = the method of settling disputes, arising out of un-Vinayic acts done by a monk while he was not in a sane mood inspite of the repeated remonstrance made by other monks against such actions, by requesting the former to appear before the Saṅgha and declare that for some time he lost sanity and regrets for the improper deeds done by him during that time.
- (4) Paṭiññā (Mvyut. pratijñā-kāraḥ) = formal (and not indirect) confession of a wrong committed by a monk in the presence of

of another monk who must be senior to him. Strictly speaking it should not be included in the Adhikaraṇa samathas, but perhaps the questioning of the formality and informality of a paṭiñṇā occasioned frequent disputes and that led to its inclusion in this & section.

- (5) Yebbhuyyasikā (Mvyut.Yad-bhūyasikīyaṇ) = settlement of disputes by votes (salākā) in a large assembly of monks.

Literally the word means that (yad) ...

which is to be settled by a fresh (bhūyas) appeal to a large assembly. From the illustration given in the Cullavagga it is apparent that yebbhuyyasikā method was taken recourse to only on the failure of the ubbhāhikā method (i.e., decision by a committee formed out of the whole assembly of monks).

Both the ubbhāhikā and yebbhuyyasikā methods of settling disputes are carried out by means of salākā (votes), the distributor and scrutiniser of which must be a well-qualified monk formally chosen by the Saṅgha for the occasion as the salākagāhāpaka.

- (6) Tassapāpiyyasika (Mvyut. Tat-svabhavaṇṇīyaṇ?). This method is adopted when a monk prevaricates, i.e., first confesses his guilt and then denies it or vice-versa. The Majjhima Nikāya says that in trying to exculpate himself, he, in fact, indirectly implicates himself in the commission of an offence.

Its procedure is as follows : The guilty monk is brought before the Saṅgha and is reminded of his guilt. Though he vacillates, he is charged with an offence and

then after the formal three proclamations the due punishment is inflicted upon him.

- (7) Tinavatthārākā (Mvyut. tinaprastāraka). This method is adopted when there is the likelihood that the matter of dispute if discussed in an open assembly will give rise to questions which may impair the well-being of the Saṅgha. The Majjhima Nikāya offers a better interpretation. According to it, this method is to be adopted only when a group of monks breaks some laws and they in a body regret for it. The procedure to be adopted in such cases is to shut up any discussion relating to the matter. As filth, which, if disturbed, becomes a greater nuisance, and the safest way is to cover it up by grass, so also some matters relating to the Saṅgha should be shelved in the interest of the Saṅgha.

Bhikkhunī-Pātimokkha

SECTION - I mentions eight offences under the heading Pārājikā as against four of the Bhikkhu-pātimokkha. Of the additional four of the additional four, the fifth and eighth speak of offences having a tinge of sexuality (ubbhayaajānumāḍalikā and atthavattuka) while the sixth relates to the suppression of the pārājikā offence committed by a nun (vajjapaticchādikā). The seventh prohibits a nun from siding with a monk who is under suspension (ukkhittamuvattaka).

SECTION - II contains 17 rules under the heading Saṅghādisesa as against 13 of the Bhikkhu-pātimokkha, of which 7 are common to both (nos. 7-9, 14-17 = nos. 5, 8-9, 10, 13 of the Bhikkhu-pātimokkha). Of the remaining ten, the first deals with quarrelsome nuns, the second with those who admit into the Saṅgha a guilty woman. Rules 3, 5 and 6 relate to

actions which may occasion moral lapses while rules 4,10 and 11 refer to cases when a nun does not observe the Pātimokkha restrictions, viz., readmitting a suspended nun without the sanction of the Saṅgha, showing disrespects to the teaching imparted by a nun, and resenting a decision of the Saṅgha. The remaining two, 12-13 forbid nuns to associate closely with house-holders and conceal one another's lapses.

There is no section corresponding to the Aniyata section of the Bhikkhu-pātimokkha.

SECTION-III called the Nissaggiyā-pācittiyā contains 30 rules like the Bhikkhu-pātimokkha. It is divided into three sub-sections: patta, cīvara and jātarūpa, (bowl, robe, and gold and silver). Eighteen of these rules contained in the last two sub-sections are identical with those of the Bhikkhu-pātimokkha. Of the remaining twelve, the first prohibits nuns from collecting bowls and the second from appropriating cīvara untimely. The third condemns indecision regarding the exchange of robes. Rules 4-10 prohibit nuns from trying to obtain something which the donee did not intend to give. Rules 11 and 12 limit the price of a nun's warm cīvara to four kaṃsas and that of a cotton cīvara to two and a half kaṃsas.

SECTION - IV contains 166 rules under the heading Pācittiya as against only 92 of the Bhikkhu-pātimokkha. It is similar in contents to the Bhikkhu-pa, and does not admit of a clear classification. The rules deal with the following : warnings against self-abuse, - prohibitions relating to food, -decorum to be observed at the house of a host, -keeping away as far as possible from monks, house-holders and fearful places, -mutual obligations of nuns, -shirking responsibilities once undertaken, -abiding by the

vassāvāsa restrictions, -reverting to householder's habits, -size and making of cīvaras as also their distribution, -several restrictions to be observed in giving or refusing ordination to females, -avoidance of articles of luxury, dress and manners not befitting a nun.

SECTION-V contains 8 rules under the heading Pāṭidesaniya as against four of the Bhikkhu-pātimokkha. All the rules are new and have nothing in common with those of the Bhikkhu-pā^{timokkha}. These rules only prohibit nuns who are not sick from begging and partaking of (i) butter, (ii) oil, (iii) honey, (iv) molasses, (v) meat, (vi) ~~fish~~, (vii) sweet milk and (viii) curds. SECTION-VI. contains, under the heading Sekhiya, 75 rules which are identical with those of the Bhikkhu-pātimokkha.

SECTION-VII contains four rules under the heading Adhikaraṇa samatha and are the same as those in the Bhikkhu-pātimokkha.

Buddhist Monasteries as Centres of Learning

The history of the Buddhist system of education is practically that of the Buddhist order or Saṅgha. Buddhist education and learning centered round monasteries. The Buddhist world did not offer any educational opportunities apart from or independently of its monasteries. All education, religious as well as secular, was in the hands of the monks. They had the monopoly of learning and of the leisure to impart it. They were the only custodians and bearers of the Buddhist culture.

With the beginning as resorts during the rainy season, the Buddhist monasteries at the next stage turned into great centres of learning. The account of such a transition from residences to seats of learning is a remarkable one in the history of Buddhism in India. Undoubtedly, such a process of transformation was rather slow, but it was steady. The growth of Viḥāras as educational institutions may also be noticed in the following passage from the Manorathapūraṇī, the commentary of the Aṅguttara Nikāya " Even if there be a hundred or a thousand bhikkhus practising Vipassanā (meditation), there will be no realization of the Noble Path if there is not learning (Āraddha Vipassakāṇaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ satāpi sahassepi saṃvijjāmaṇe pariya-ttiyā asati ariyamaggepaṭivedhe na hoti) ¹⁴⁵ thousand bhikkhus pra-tising vipassana (meditation) there will be no realization of the noble path if there is no learning (doctrine, pariyaatti)". The same idea is also reflected in other text : " There may or may not be realization (Paṭivedho) and practice (Paṭipatti) learning enough for the preparation of the Sāsana. The wise one, having heard the three Piṭakas, will →

If it even both. Therefore, the Sāsana (religion) is stabilized when
 learning endures". The value of learning was, thus, greatly felt.
 Hence, all able and intellectual monks took to learning, and the
 idea that learning was of greater importance than practice and
 realization was more firmly established". Thus a new term, viz.,
 Gantha-dhura or the vocation of "book", was added to the Pali ter-
 minology. As a result, bhikkhus engaged themselves chiefly to study.
 Originally, however, Gantha-dhura implied the learning and teaching
 of the Pāṭhakas. But gradually its connotation was widened to include
 all languages, grammar, history, logic, medicine and other branches
 of learning. Thus, in course of time, the Buddhist monasteries had to
 make room for secular learning in addition to mere ecclesiastical
 teaching and religious preaching. The Bhikkhus also became psycho-
 logically prepared to study the doctrines of other faiths as well
 as some secular subjects. By virtue of such liberable learning the
 monastic students became able to oppose the heretics as they would
 tame beasts..... explain away disputations as boiling water
 melts frost". This broadened outlook brought monastic learning into
 a larger frame-work. The study of a student in the Buddhist monas-
 tery no longer confined only to the Navāṅga (Nine Limbs) i.e.
 1. Sutta (Prose sermons), 2. Geyya (sermons in a mixture of Prose and
 verse), 3. Veyākaraṇa (Veyākaraṇa), explanations commentaries, 4. Gāthā,
 verses, 5. Udāna, Pithy sayings, Itivuttaka, short speeches beginning
 with the words, "Thus spake the Buddha", 7. Jātaka, stories of for-
 mer births of Buddha, 8. Abbhutadhamma, reports of miracles, 9. Vedalla,
 questions in the forms of questions and answers, but included other
 Vedas and Vidyās which comprised the Four Vedas, Six Āṅgas, Ten

Granthas, Fourteen Vidyās, Eighteen Śilpas and Sixty-four Kalās.

The Monasteries had also become educational seminaries where admission was thrown open, at a much later date, not only to monks but also ~~to the later date, not only to monks but also~~ to the laity irrespective of caste, creed or colour. The accounts of the Chinese Pilgrims confirm to this effect. Most of the Vihāras gradually turned into great 'Universities' in the early centuries of the Christian era. This was possible due to keen intellect and enthusiasm of the monks who were not engrossed in rituals only. The Aṅguttara-nikāya offers us a long list of names of ^{and Theris} Theras who were well-versed and experts not only in Buddhist lore, but also in other subjects.

Aṅguttara Nikāya (I. pp. 23 - 26)

List of expert monks and nuns:

1. One therā excels all in having long experience (rattānñam) is ^{te} Āñña Kondañña.
2. in great wisdom (mahāpāññanam) is Sāriputta ;
3. in having Psychic powers (iddhimantānam) is Mahā-Moggallāna ;
4. in leading life of rigorous practices (dhutavādānam) is Mahākassapa ;
5. in having divine eyes (Psychic power, dibbacakkhūnam) is Anurudha ;
6. in coming from a high family (Uccakulikanam) is Bhaddiya, the son of Kāligoṭha,
7. in having a sweet voice (mañjussara) is Lakunḍaka Bhaddiya.
8. in making ^{roaring} proclamation (sihaṇadikānam) is Piṇḍalabhāradvāja ;

9. in delivering sermons is Puṇṇa the son of Mantāni.
10. who is skilled in creating forms by mindpower (manoma-
yaṃ Kāyaṃ abhinimmitānaṃ) is Cūlapanthaka.
11. Pre-eminent among those skilled in the evolution
of consciousness (saññāvivatta-kusaṭṭānaṃ) is Mahāpanṭhaka.
12. who is declared chief of those who lived in remote
forest and in peace (~~araṇa~~avihāriṇaṃ agga) and also of those
who were worthy of gifts (dakkhiṇeyyānaṃ) is Subhūti.
13. Who was declared by the Buddha foremost among forest
dwellers (ārannakānaṃ) is Revata called Khadīravaniya.
14. ----- among meditators (Jhāyīnaṃ) is Kaṇṭhā Revata.
15. among those who had endeavoured (āraddhaviṛiyānaṃ)
is Sopa Koliṇḍa.
16. declared chief of those possessing clear utterance
(Kalyāṇavākkaraṇa) is Sopa Kuṭikaṇṇa.
17. declared pre-eminent among recipients of gifts
(dābhīnaṃ) is Sivali.
18. declared foremost among those liberated by implicit
faith (saddhādhimuttānaṃ) is Vakkali.
19. declared foremost among the monks who are anxious
for training (Sikkhākāmaṇaṃ) is Rāhula.
20. Chief of those who had left World through faith
(Saddhāpabbajitānaṃ) is Raṭṭhapāla.
21. Proclaimed the ~~first~~ among those who received food
tickets (paṭhamāṃ sātākāṃ gaṇhantānaṃ) is Kuṇḍadhāna.
22. declared foremost among those pre-eminent in ready
expression (paṭibhānavantānaṃ) is Vaṅḡisa.
23. Considered Chief among expounders in full of the
brief saying of Buddha (saṅkhittena bhasitassa vitthārena

attham Vibhajantānaṃ) is Mahā Kaccāna.

24. declared to be chief among such monks who were dear to devas(devatānaṃ piyamaṇapaṃ) is Pīlindavāccha.
25. declared to chief among those who instantly comprehended the truth (Khippābhiññānaṃ) is Bāhiya Daruciriya.
26. declared foremost among those who had the gift of varied and versatile discourse(Cittakathikānaṃ) is Kumāraka-ssapa.
27. ranked foremost among masters of Logical analysis (Paṭisambhidāppattānaṃ) is MahāKotṭhila.
26. ranked by Buddha the foremost bhikkhu in five respects; erudition(bahussuta), good behaviour(Gatimāntanaṃ) power of walking), retentive memory(satimāntānaṃ), resoluteness (dhitimontānaṃ) and personal attention(Upaṭṭhakānaṃ) is Anand.
27. declared to be the chief of those who had large followings (aggam mahāparisānaṃ) is Uruvela Kassapa.
28. declared pre-eminent among those who gladdened the clans(Kuloppasādakānaṃ) is Kaludāyī.
29. declared foremost among those who could remember past births(Pubbenivāsanussantānaṃ) is Sobhita.
30. declared to be foremost in good health(appābādhānaṃ) is Bakula(or, Bakkula).
31. Foremost among those who were proficient learned in Vinaya (Vinayadharānaṃ) is Upālī.
32. declared foremost among exhorters nuns(bhikkhuno-vādakānaṃ) is Nandaka.
33. declared foremost among those who restrained in senses(indriyesu guttānaṃ) is Nanda.

34. declared foremost among those who regularly admonished the monks(bhikkhuvāḍakāṇaṃ) is Mahā Kappina-
35. declared foremost among those skilled in the contemplation of the heat-element(tejodhatukusalāṇaṃ) is Sāgata.
36. declared foremost among those who could inspire speech in others(Paṭi-bhānakeyyāṇaṃ) is Rādha.
37. declared foremost among wearers of rough clothing(Kukkaṭṭivaraḍḍāṇaṃ) is Mogharāja.
38. declared by Buddha foremost among women disciples who had experience (rattāṇṇāṇaṃ) is Mahāpajāpati Gotamī.
39. ranked by Buddha foremost among women disciples who had great insight (mahāpaṇṇāṇaṃ) is Khemā.
40. declared foremost among those who possessed supernatural powers (iddhīmāntīṇaṃ) is Uppalavaṇṇā).
41. declared foremost among women disciples who were proficient in Vinaya rules(Vinayadharāṇaṃ) is Paṭacārā.

From the accounts of monasteries left by the noted Chinese Pilgrims, Fa-Hien and Hiuen-Tsang, we learn that many distinguished monk-scholars adorned those Vihāras which used to hold often conventions of learned Scholars for discussions. Naturally thus, the monasteries lost gradually their inbred and cloistered nature. The Buddhist monks could no longer confine themselves to the study of their sacred scriptures only. They endeavoured to equip themselves with other branches of knowledge also, e.g. doctrines of the rival sects, different systems of Philosophy, even agriculture, architecture and the like.

Literary Contributions of the Buddhist monks and nuns :

There were many Buddhist men and women saints who were profound Scholars, highly educated, wise and trained in all the arts of learning and acquired high status in the society. Many of them were poets and poetesses of high standard and created a Kāvya literature in Pali which ranks the high by the merit of poetic excellence and diction. The literary contributions of the Buddhist Theras or Bhikkhus and Theris or Bhikkhunis are represented in the Theragāthā, i.e., songs of the Elders' and Therīgāthā, i.e. " Songs of the Lady Elders" and both are canonical texts included in the Khuddakanikāya and contain "religious poems which, in force and beauty, are fit to rank with the best productions of Indian Lyric poetry, from the hymns of the R̥gveda to the lyrical poems of Kālidāsa and Amaru".¹⁴⁶

The Theragāthā contains 107 poems with 1279 stanzas (gāthās) and the Therīgāthā contains 73 poems with 522 stanzas, which are ascribed by tradition to certain Theras and Theris mentioned by name. " This Tradition", in words of M. Winternitze,¹⁴⁷ is guaranteed to us both by the manuscripts and by the commentary of Dhammapala, probably composed in the 5th century A.D., which also contains narratives in which a kind of life-history of each of these Theras and Theris is told. These narratives, however, are either merely adapted from the verses, or they are pure inventions, or have been borrowed from various narrative works. They are entirely unauthentic ; neither is the tradition of the names of the Theras and Theris as the authors of the verses on the whole, trustworthy. However, the tradition is right in assuming for these poems, not one author, but many authors, and certainly in ascribing

the authorship of the songs partly to monks and partly to nuns. Some of the songs which are ascribed to various authors may, of course, in reality be the work of only one poet, and conversely, some stanzas ascribed to one and the same poet, might have been composed by various authors ; there may also be a few songs among the " Songs of the Lady Eleders ", composed by monks, and possibly a few songs among the " Songs of the Elders ", composed by nuns but in no case can these poems be the product of one brain. If the same phrases frequently recur and tone of the poems is, in many respects, uniform it only proves that they all bear stamp of the Buddhist mind. (*History of Indian Literature*, II, p. 101).

Common to both collections are the religious ideals where are set up and the moral doctrines which are proclaimed by these monks and nuns know of nothing higher than the profound calmness of mind for which even the gods envy the saint, which is won by the extinction of passion, hatred and illusion and by the renunciation of all sensual inclinations and tendencies, and gives a foretaste of that highest bliss, Nirvāṇa, the end of all suffering in the consciousness of release from rebirth. Blessed is the monk who is equally insensible to joy and sorrow, who feels neither hunger nor cold : blessed the nun who can say of herself (*Therīgāṇṇa* 76) : .

" Now all the evil bonds that fetter gods
And men are wholly rent and cut away.
Purg'd are the *āsavas* that drugg'd my heart,
Calm and content I know Nibbāna's Peace.

These ideals, like the ethical doctrines, the noble fourfold path, gentleness and kindness towards all beings (*mettā*),

non-violence(ahimsā), self-control, and so on, are common to these songs as well as to the sayings of the Dhammapada and the poems of the monks and the nuns is, however, that they are personal confessions, or describe personal experiences. Proudly a monk relates how wife and child in vain endeavoured to disturb his peace - "Then my heart was set at liberty "(Therag.299 ff.). Another one recalls to mind the courtesan whose blandishments he....

The songs of the Elders abound in attacks on the woman, temptress - this snare, this bond - who never ceases to threaten and divert the monk from his holy living. However, numerous may be the women who come, boast: one monk, they will not seduce me (Therag.738 ff.). A monk describes in a most gruesome manner, how he was led to the truth by the sight of the decaying corpse of a woman (Therag, 315 ff., 393 ff.). In contrast to these ugly pictures there are many more beautiful ones. We hear of a monk whose own mother led him to the truth, for which he thanks her in beautiful words. In another song a monk consoles his mother by telling her that, after all, he has not died (Therag.44). Another one relates how he eked out a miserable existence by picking up dead flowers, how he came to the Buddha and found liberation (Therag.620 ff.). Yet another, according to tradition the son of a king's chaplain, tells how, proud of his noble birth, his wealth and his beauty, he lived a life of infatuation, until he saw the Buddha, and was converted (Therag.423 ff.). A king, who has become a monk, compares his present life as a beggar with his erstwhile splendid court life (Therag. 842 ff.). Yet, in the Songs of the Elders, references to external experiences are comparatively rare. As a rule they only describe the inner life of the monks, mostly in short poems of a few verses each. However, in the verses ascribed to the Thera Tālapuṭa, we have also

a long and splendid poem, the soliloquy of a monk striving after holiness. Sure enough, in the songs of the Elders (Theragāthā), the charming descriptions of nature are largely instrumental in making many of these religious poems real gems of Indian lyric poetry. The love of nature which we have already met with in the Rāmāyaṇa as a prominent feature of Indian poetry, which we admire in the ornate epics and in the love lyrics, and even in the didactic gnomic poetry, was not foreign to these monks in spite of all their renunciation of the world. More poet than monk, they delight in lingering over the description of the forest and mountain scenery, in the midst of which the solitary sage pursues his meditations. When the thunder rolls and the torrential rain pours down out of the dark clouds, the liberated monk sits in bliss in his rock cave. Even the saint who is indifferent to pleasure and pain does not refrain from describing the spring.

The love of nature is also shown in many beautiful similes. The sage is compared to a rock, which stands firm, or to an elephant. The monk who is proud of his monk's robe is like the monkey in a lion's skin. The self-restrained monk sits like a lion in his den. We find an elaborate accumulation of similes in one of the "Songs of the Lady Elders" (Therīg. 112 ff.). As the peasant ploughs the field, sows the seed and reaps, so the nun desires to attain Nirvāṇa; while washing her feet she sees the water trickling down the rock, and, stimulated to reflection by this sight, she curbs her heart as one tames a noble steed; then she goes into the convent, takes the lamp, and with a needle, draws down the wick, and as the light of the lamp goes out, she attains Nirvāṇa. This artistic intertwining of similes already recalls the embellishments (alāmkāras) of ornate poetry, and so do some very artificial word-plays

which occasionally occur.

In the Therīgāthās¹⁴⁸ each of Therīs is said to have uttered the gāthās generally to express her joy at the attainment of arhathood (arahatta) or perfect emancipation (vimutti), but in some cases we find the Buddha himself, or a disciple is uttering the verse to advise the Therī to lead a virtuous life. The gāthās of Muttā (verse 2), Puṇṇā (3), two Tissās (4-5), two Dhīrās (5-7), Mittā (8), Buddhā, (9), Upasamā, (10), Sumanā (14), Abhirūpā-Nandā (19-20), Abhayā (35-36) Ubbirī (half of the poem 51), Sundarī Nandā (82-83) and Guttā (163-168) are put to mouth of the Buddha and some are started by him and completed by the Therī. Therefore, it is not certain that Therīs to whom verses are allotted are real composers of those particular verses. It is done by the compilers who gave the final shape to the Therīgāthā.

It is certain that the most of poems or songs were composed by the Therīs. M. Winternitz opines, "It is beyond any doubt, that a great majority of the nuns' songs have been composed by women. In particular, the monks would never have shown so much sympathy for the female members of the community that we could expect of them that they would have composed the songs which come directly from hearts of woman-folk. We need recall to our minds the difficulty which according to tradition, Gotama created for foster mother when she wanted to found a nun's Order, and the ^e reproaches which were made against Ananda in several places of canon on account of his attitude favouring women. For the same reason it would have never occurred to the monks to ascribe songs to women, if an incontestable tradition had not pointed in this direction. Mrs. Rhys Davids (Ref. Psalms of Sisters. p. xxiii ff.) has pointed out the difference in language, feeling on tone between monks' and nuns' songs.

We need only read two collections (Theragāthā and Therīgāthā) one after another to believe that in the nuns' songs often even a personal note is struck which is unknown to the monk's song, that in the nuns' songs we hear more often external experiences than in the monks' songs nature descriptions dominated whereas in the nuns' songs life-picture prevail."

The Buddhist women saints or Theris who led holy life, had mastered also the literary art of expression, have described successfully under what circumstances they took shelter and achieved their high religious ideals by observance of moral teachings proclaimed by the Buddha. The Theris have revealed their previous domestic life, so also the position of women in the Society as well as profound doctrine of Buddhism. Ubbijjā mad with grief at the loss of her Jīvā everyday goes to cemetery and wanders about restlessly until consoled and enlightened by Gotama Buddha that previously thousands and thousands of daughters like Jīvā were cremated in the cemetery and she is admitted to the Buddhist Order of nuns (Bhikkhunī-Saṃgha). Under same circumstances Vāsīṭṭhī at the loss of her son entered the order of nuns by the sympathy of the Buddha. The poor girl Kiṣā Gotamī gave birth to a son who died in his childhood. Mad with sorrow she asked medicine from people but in vain. At last one man suggests to her to go to Buddha who tells her to bring mustard seed from a house where none died before. She roams from door to door but did not find any such a house. At last she realises that the death is universal and she was admitted to Order. Paṭacārā was born in a respectable family of Śrāvastī but falling in love with the servant left the house and lived in a cottage of a village. While she was lying in pains on the road, her husband died, afterwards she lost her two sons and also parents.

Mad with grief she took shelter in the Order. Many disciples of Paṭacārā and other women are led to nun's Order through the loss of children. In one poem we find a poor widow Candā lost her all relatives and went begging from house to house and suffered for want of food and cloth for seven years and by chance came to nuns, by whom she was received sympathetically, admitted to the Order and through her kind teacher Paṭacārā found out the path of Nirvāṇa. Uttamā, who is the daughter of Brahmin priest of Śrāvastī hears the discourses of the Buddha and being pleased took admission into the Order and says; "These seven constituents of enlightenment to the ways to the obtaining of quenching, have all been developed by me as taught by the Buddha. I am attainer of the empty (or) the singless (aspect of nibbāna), whichever is wanted. (I am) the true daughter of the Buddha, always delighting in quenching. All sensual pleasures, those which are diving and those which are human, have been cut out. Journeying on from rebirth to rebirth had been completely annihilated, there is no renewed existence."

Many other women like Sela who is a princess of Alavī (57 - 59), Siha, niece of the general Siha of Vesālī (77-81), Sundarī Nandā, a Śākya girl and the closed relative of Gotamī (82-86). Bhaddā Kuṇḍalakesā (107-111), Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī, stepmother and mother's sister of Buddha, Rohinī who is born in rich Brahmin family (271-290) and Sundarī (312-337) and so on have received admission to the Order of Nuns by the Buddha. Anopamā, the extraordinarily beautiful daughter of the Banker of Śāketa, who was reluctant towards worldly life and her mind always engaged in higher thought, approaches the Buddha and hearing his discourses has been attracted to celibate life. The sons of rich men, even the princes are interested in her and one of them sent message to her father.

" Eight times as much as she weighs, will I give gold for her and treasures of precious moreover, give her to me." But Anopamā has heard the Buddha and prefers the life of a Bhikkhūnī. Many women such as Sumanā (16) sister of the King Pasenadi of Kosala, Dhammā (17) who is born in a respectable family, Adḍhakāśī (25-26), a daughter of a famous rich man of Kāśī, Abhaya (35-36) who is born in a respectable family of Ujjayini, says :

" Delighting in vigilance because of many painful objects the annihilation of craving has been obtained by me. The Buddha's teaching has been done by me." Guttā (163-68) who is born of a respectable family, Cālā (182-195), and Sisupacālā (195-203), both the sisters of Śāriputta, Vaddhamātā (204-212) who is born in a respectable family of Bharukaccha, Uppalavannā (224-235), a beautiful daughter of a merchant of Śāvastī and Cāpā (295-311), a daughter of the chief of hunters all disgusted and disinterested in domestic life embrace the mendicant life. In a poem Soṇā (102-106) who has distributed all her properties to her sons and daughters-in-law after her husband has left the house but being dishonoured and disgusted in household life entered the Order of nuns. Dhammadinnā (12), wife of a richman named Viśakha, taking permission of her husband embraced the life of a celibate. Two women both holding the same name Sāmā (37-40) being unable to bear the sorrow for death of their friend Sāmāvatī have become Buddhist nuns. Hearing the admonition of Therī, Dhammadinnā, Sikkā (54-56) who is born in a respectable family of Rājagṛha and Vaddhesī (67-71) who is a nurse of Mahāpajāpati Gotamī have become bhikkhūnī and like all other attaining emancipation (arahatta). So, also Vijayā (169-174) under Therī Khemā and Mutṭā (2), Dantikā (48-50), Bhaddakapilānī (63-66) Guttā (163-168), Subhā (338-365), Puṇṇā (3), Subhā Jīvaka-ambavanikā

(366-399) and many others under Mahāpajāpati Gotamī have received admission into the Order of nuns. Vimalā (72-76) being grown up takes up mother's profession as harlot, has seen the elder Mahāmoggallāna, one of the chief disciples of the Buddha and falling in love with him has tried to allure him. But Moggallāna has rebuked her and delivered religious discourse. Being ashamed and repented Vimalā has become a Bhikkhūnī. Puṇṇikā (236-251) born as a slave-girl of Anāthapiṇḍika at Śrāvastī has been so much successful to convert a brahmin to her opinion that her master has gladly released her from bondage. At last she enters the Order of nuns.

Isidāsī (400-447), the daughter of a wealthy merchant of Ujjeni has been undesirable wife for one husband after another, renounces from domestic life and has entered the order of nuns under the Therī Jinadattā. Besides these tragic circumstances under which women of various grades in the society are compelled to renounce the world and getting admission into Order of nuns have scope for self-culture and relief in the blissful Nirvāṇa, there are also some humorous causes for renunciation. For Example, Muttā (11), daughter of a poor Brahmin and married to a hunchback husband, is glad, through her admission into Order of nuns, to be free from the threshing of rice and unwanted husband, she expresses humorously, saying that she is now free from "three crooked things" - mortar, pestle and the hunchback husband. Muttā has attained emancipation being released from birth and death (muttamhi jāti-maraṇā) "that which leads to renewed existence has been rooted out" (bhavanetti samūhata).

The Buddhist Therīs have acquired so much skill in poetics and mastery over the language that one or more aspects of the profound doctrines, religious ideals and moral teachings

of Buddha are extolled properly in each poem of the Therīgāthā of which some have been mentioned above. Vijayā says : " Four or five times I went forth my cell, not having obtained peace of mind (aladdha cetaso santim), being without self mastery over the mind (cittē avasavattini). Having approached a bhikkhunī, I have honoured her, I questioned (her). She taught me the doctrine, and the elements (dhātu) and sense-bases (āyatanaṇi), the four noble truths (Cattāri ariya saccāni), the faculties (indriyāni) and the powers (balāni), the constituents of enlightenment (bojjhaṅgā) and the eightfold way for the attainment of supreme goal (aṭṭhaṅgikam maggam uttamattassa pattiya).

Uttarā Therī in her song (15) after attainment of emancipation tells us that being restrained in body, speech and thought and having plucked out craving root, she has become cool and quenched. Saṅghā therī in almost same language expresses : " Giving up my house, having gone forth, giving son, cattle, and what was so dear, giving up desire and hatred, and having discarded ignorance, plucking out craving root and all, I have stilled, quenched. The main purpose of the poems of Abhirūpa-Nandā, Khemā and Sundarī Nandā is to establish the Buddhist view that the human body is diseased (atturaṃ), impure (asuci) and rotten (pūti) and one should devote the mind, intent and well concentrated, to (contemplation of) the unpleasant (asubha). This body gives forth a rotten evil smell (duḡandham putikam vāti) which is the delight of fools (bāṭaṃ abhinanditam). Paṭacārā expresses in languages embellished with appropriate simile : " Ploughing the field with ploughs, showing seeds in grounds, nourishing wives and children, young brāhmaṇas find wealth. Why do I, possessed of virtuous conduct, complying with the teaching of teacher, not obtain quenching? (I am) not slack and puffed-up.

Having washed feet, I paid attention to the waters ; and seeing the foot-water come to the low land from the high, I concentrated my mind, like a noble thoroughbred horse.

The transitoriness of worldly phenomena such as aggregates of existence (Khandha), the sense-bases (āyatana) and elements (dhātu) is expounded in the verses of Vaddhest, Uttamā and Mittakālī. There is particularly in the gāthās of Ambapālī it is explained nicely. Ambapālī, the famous courtesan of Vesālī is an adopted child of nature and is grown-up amidst natural beauty and so has drawn some similes from nature and fits them well in proper context. To expound the transitoriness, she has used her physical beauty as example and described like expert poetess how that beauty of youth decayed in old age. Says : "My hair was black, like bark-fibres of hemp (Kālā bhamaravaṇṇasadiṣā, vellitaḡḡā mama muddhajā ahaṃ, te jarāya saṇavakasadiṣā). Full of (covered with) flowers my head was fragrant like a perfumed box, now because of old age it smells like dog's (fur), possessing fine pins, decorated with gold, adorned with plaits, it looked beautiful, because of old age that head has been made bald, formerly my eye-brows looked beautiful, like crescents well-painted by artists; because of old age they droop down with the wrinkles (Cittakārasukālā va lekhitā, sobhate su bhamuka pure mama, ta jarā valihipalambitā), formerly my teeth looked beautiful, like the colour of the bud of plantain ; because of old age they are broken-indeed yellow (pattalimakulavāṇṇa sadiṣā, sobhate sudantā pure mama, te jarāya khaṇḍa yavapitākā :), sweet was my warbling , like a cuckoo wandering in the grove in a jungle thicket, because of old age, it has flattered here and there (Kānanamhi vanaśaṇḍe cārīṇī, Kokilā va madhuraṃ nikujiṭaṃ , tam jarāya khalitaṃ tahiṃ tahiṃ) formerly both my breasts looked beautiful, swelled, round,

close together, lofty, (now) they hang down like waterless waterbags (pīnavatṭa-sahituggatā, ubhosobhate su thanakā pure mama, te rindi va lambante nodakā), formerly both my thighs looked beautiful like an elephant's trunk ; because of old age they are like stalks of bamboo (nāgabhogasadisopamā ubho, sobhate su ūrū pure mama, te jarāya yathā velunaliyo) ; formerly both my feet looked beautiful, like (shoes) full of cotton-wool ; because of old age they are cracked and wrinkled (Tūlapunṇasadisopamā ubho, sobhate su pādā pure mama, tu jarāya phutitā valimatā). Such was this body, (now) it is decrepit, the abode of many pains, an old house , with its plaster fallen off (edisso ahu ayam samussayo , jajjaro bahudukkhanamālyo sopalepatito jarāgharo)". Subhā, the goldsmith's daughter, who has become a slave in household life and being disgusted in domestic life joins the order of nuns, has composed her poem in twenty-four verses or named with poetic cloak preaches Buddhistic teachings in her lyric. Mahāpajāpati Gotamī, the step-mother of Gotama Buddha, by whose initiative the Order of nuns (bhikkhūṇī Saṃgha) was established, pays homage to the Buddha, who saved many from suffering, in her poem. The Bhikkhūṇī Subhā Jīvakaṃbavanikā, composer of a poem consisting of thirty-three verses, tells us that one day a certain rogue, dhut tako of Rājagaha, blocks her way while passing through the mango-grove, pleaded her to sensual pleasures in his company repeatedly praising the beauty of her eyes. Then Subhā extracts one of her eyes and hands it to him and at this rogue, full of shame and repentance begged excuse.

The poetess Therī Samedhā, the composer of the longest poem of the Therīgāthā and the daughter of the King of Kōṇa of Mantāvati and bethroned to Anikaratto, king of Vāraṇavati is virtuous (sīlāvaṇṭi), brilliant speaker (cittakathā), having great

learning(baḥussutā) and trained in Buddha's teachings(Buddhasāsa-
sane vinītā). Being disgusted in household life she joins the Order
of nuns, attains as usual the arhathood and composes verses to ex-
press her views on worldly things and religious outlook : " I delight
in quenching, existence non-eternal, even if it is as deva ; how much
more (non-eternal are empty sensual pleasure, giving little enjoyment,
and distress). Sensual pleasures , in which fools are bemused, like
a snake's poison consigned to hell for a long time, they are beaten
and pained. Why should I cling to this foul body, impure, smelling
of urine, a frightful water-bag of corpses, always flowing, full of
impure things? ¹⁴⁹

Sensual pleasures are like swords and stakes
a disease. a tumour evil destruction, like a pit of coals, the root
of evil , fear, slaughter. Those who are intent upon the teaching of
the ten-powered one (Buddha dasabala) have nirvāṇa ; having little
greed they strive for the elimination of birth and death. "

The Buddhist women are credited with the con-
tribution of writing the dramatic literature in Pali in very early
time of Buddhism. There are twelve dialogue gāthās in the Therīgāthā
which may be taken as the earliest specimens of drama that survive
in ancient Pali literature and that a few of them can be satisfact-
orily explained by the dramaturgy. As no emphasis has been laid upon
action, all those types of writings judged by modern standards, have
come to be regarded as dramatic poems, rather than as plays proper. ¹⁴⁹
These dialogue gāthās written in ballad style are composed, accord-
ing to tradition, by Seta, Somā, Cālā, Upacālā, Sisupacālā, Vaddhamatā,
Uppalavannā, Punṇikā, Rohiṇī, cāpā, Sundarī and Subhā Jāvakam-bavanikā.

The gāthās ascribed to Sundarī and Subhā Jīvakaṃbavanikā earn supreme perfection as gāthā dialogue. The gāthās of Selā, Cālā, Upacālā, Sisupacālā and Uppalavannā contain dialogue of each of these Theris with Māra and remind us those of the Bhikkhunis and Māra in the Bhikkhunī Saṃputta of Saṃyuttanikāya. Here also Māra tries to dissuade the nuns from the path of Nirvāṇa but in vain. The Gāthās of Puṇṇikā prove the non-efficacy of so-called holy water of a river to purify sins of a man and other dialogues discuss the views on Buddhist Doctrine.

The language of the Therīgāthā is on the whole much simpler and emotional than that of the Theragāthā. Similes and metaphors used in this work have a beauty of their own and not traceable in other Pali texts. An intimate acquaintance with the Indian natural scenery and detailed knowledge of the habits, modes of thoughts and traditions of the Indians are essential elements of Pali similes and metaphors. The bulk of them are also culled from the domestic life. The language is throughout chaste, refined and ornamented with ⁱⁿalakāras.

Simplicity of style and clarity of thought are the chief characteristic of the poetry in the Therīgāthā. The nuns are skilled in the use of upamā and rūpaka, the other figures of speech which they employ with success are yamaka and pun. They are also skilled in the use of metres, frequently employ sloka Gaṇacchandās, Rathoddhātā, Vaitālīya Triṣṭubha, etc. ¹⁵⁰ Indeed the Therīgāthā is the unique contribution of the Buddhist women in the history of Indian poetic literature.

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Secular Education as Depicted in Pali Literature.

The Pali literature throws abundant light on Secular education in ancient India. When Buddhism gained popularity and spread all over India and a large number of men and women entered the Saṅgha, several thousand monasteries were established to accommodate them and sufficient food, dress, and other requirements were supplied to meet their needs. The management of these elaborately equipped establishments where so many monks lived together naturally called for a numerous and varied staff of officials with a well-worked out differentiation of secular functions. The Saṅgha staff includes the following office-bearers for distribution food, dress, lodging etc. The members of the monk-staff doing various function of management must have training in their respective jobs. The Vinaya Piṭaka furnishes us with these secular information. Dr. N. Dutt gives a list of these office-bearers¹. In regard to food and the daily necessities of life also an attempt has been made to keep the sense of individuality in the background as far as possible. If a devotee wished to offer food to the monks, he had to invite the whole Saṅgha and not any particular individual or individuals. In days of scarcity, provision was made for invitations by batches, and so Saṅghabhatta. (food for the whole Saṅgha) was allowed to be replaced by uddesabbatta, nimantana, saṅkābbatta, etc.² i.e. the devotees might provide food not for all the monks of the Saṅgha but for some, who, however, were not to be selected by the hosts. This naturally gave rise to troubles. To avoid these, it became necessary to fix the responsibility of selection³ upon a particular monk possessing the requisite qualities. He was called a (1) Bhatuddeska or the distributor of food. His

appointment had also to be made formally by the Saṅgha with the unanimous consent of all the members. Besides him there were other office-bearers whose duty was to distribute rice-gruel (yāgu), fruits (phala) and hard food (khajjaka) and they were called (II) yāgubhājaka, (III) phalabhājaka and (IV) Khajjakabhājaka according to their respective charges.

With the increase in the number of monks and devotees bestowing gifts on the Saṅgha, it became indispensable to appoint further Office-bearers for maintaining concord in the Saṅgha. They were : (v) Senāsanagāhāpaka, i.e. the monks who was entrusted with the duty of accepting viharas, parivenas, etc., on behalf of the Saṅgha⁴; (vi) Senāsanapañṇāpaka or the distributor of beds and seats within a monastery, cave-dwelling, etc., (vii) bhaṇḍagārika or the Store-Keeper; (viii) cīvarapaṭiggāhāpaka or the receiver of upper robes; (ix) cīvarabhājaka or the distributor of upper robes; (x) Satiyagahapaka or the receiver of undergarment; (xi) apamaṭṭakavissajjaka or the distributor of trifling things, like needles, girdles and stores; (xii) pattaḡāhāpaka or the receiver of bowls.

Besides the above there were other office-bearers for different kinds of work. Some of these were (xiii) navakammika⁵ or the monk entrusted with the supervision of the new construction or repair of monasteries; (xiv) ārāṃikapesaka or the overseer of labourers engaged for construction or repair work; (xv) sāmaṇerapesaka or the overseer of the novices; (xvi) āsanapañṇāpaka⁶ or the arranger of seats at the meetings of monks, and (xvii) saṅkagāhāpaka. Before Kaṭhina ceremony the monks who were proficient in cutting, sewing, dying, etc. of garments were

usually appointed to prepare ~~the robes~~ in course of single day for which the Bhikkhus might have training (Vinaya texts 11, p-151 ; Mahāvagga, vii.1,6). In the appointment of every office-bearer, the usual formality must be observed i.e. a monk possessing the requisite qualifications was selected first, then his name was announced thrice before an assembly, and if there be none dissenting, he was formally appointed to the office for which name was proposed.

Every act of of ~~the~~ Saṅgha was performed in this way. Without the formal announcement and sanction of the assembly no ecclesiastical act could be performed or was regarded as valid. This discipline in working was strictly enforced and this was the secret of the great power which ~~the~~ Saṅgha developed and by which it spread itself all over Asia.

About Secular training of monks R.K. Mookherjee observes - these offices show that the monks had to engage in various kinds of practical, secular work instead of being constantly or exclusively occupied in purely religious or spiritual exercises. In fact, the monasteries opened up ample opportunities for business training or education in the practical ~~arts~~ and crafts for ~~their~~ inmates. Thus we frequently read of instances when the Bhikkhus are deputed to serve as building overseers " to take charge of building operations on behalf of a lay donor constructing a vihāra for the purposes of ~~the~~ Saṅgha⁷, so that the buildings might be in accordance with " ~~the~~ rules of the order as to size, form and object of ~~the~~ various apartments " . Such an overseer was called Navakammika. The appointment was formally made by a resolution⁸ of the order. The Bhikkhus who superintended building works ~~were~~ of course provided with requisite clothes, food, lodging and

medicines at the cost of the donor of the building. We read of a Bhikkhu taking advantage of such hospitality by demanding a special dish at a particular meal—tila seed cake and, on his conduct being reported to the Buddha, he was rebuked.⁹ Bhikkhus had to superintend not merely new constructions but also repair works¹⁰ to old works the Bhikkhus managed to assign these offices to one another for terms of twenty or thirty years or even for life. This abuse called for a rule whereby by the period of Navakamma was fixed according to the character of the construction concerned. Thus "with reference to the work on a small Vihāra it may be given in charge as a Navakamma for a period of five or six years, that on a large vihāra or a Pāsāda for ten or twelve years."¹¹

Along with the supervision of building operations, we may notice that the Bhikkhus are allowed "the use of a loom¹² and of shuttles, strings, tickets, and all the apparatus belonging to a loom. The Bhikkhus are also represented as being ill at ease without the practice of some handicraft. They are also expected to prepare their own robes and keep them in fit condition with the help of all necessary weaving appliances."¹³

In many discourses Buddha enumerates the various kinds of secular occupations by wrong means of livelihood and low arts (*tracchānavijjāya micchājīvena*) which throw much light on the secular education in Ancient India. The Sila sections of the Brahmajāla and the Sāmaññaphala Suttas provide the information that storage (*sannidhikāra*) system was prevalent in ancient India to store things, to wit foods (*anna*), drinks (*pana*), clothing (*vartha*), equipages or carriages such as ratha (*yāna*) beddings (*sayana*), perfumes, (*gandha*) and well palatable curry stuffs (*amisa*), that the dramatic shows, musical performances

and other types of recreation (visūkadassana) such as ballet or nautch dances (naccam), singing of songs (gītam), instrumental music (vāditaṃ), theatrical performances (pekkham, skt. prekṣā, comy ; nāṭa-samajja), ballad recitations in prose and verse combinedly (akkhānaṃ, skt. ākhyānaṃ) from which epic poetry like the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa was afterwards gradually developed, hand-sound, i.e. hand-music (paṇissaraṃ, skt., paṇisvaraṇa), the chanting of birds (vetālaṃ, skt., vaiṭalika), tam-tam playing or making sound by striking a drum (kumbhathunaṃ or sobhanakaṃ) which probably means adornment or scenery used for ballet dance, ancient form of modern yātrā, bamboo-tricks or acrobatic feats by Caṇḍālas (Caṇḍālavamśa-dhopanaṃ, comy, veluṃ ussāpetvā kīlanaṃ), fights of animals and birds like elephants, horses, buffaloes, bulls, rams, cocks, quails, fight with sticks (daṇḍa-yuddha), boxing (muṭṭhi-yuddha), wrestling (mallayuddha, nibbuddhaṃ, skt., niyuddha,), and show-fights, roll-calls of army, manoeuvres and visiting army, (uyyodhikaṃ balaggaṃ sena byuham, anikadassanaṃ) and that various games, sports and amusements for children and adults (jūtapamadaṃ, skt. dyūtapramadasthāna) such as games on boards with eight or ten rows of squares (aṭṭhapadaṃ, skt., aṣṭapada, dasapada), the game played by imagining such boards in the sky (ākāsaṃ). " a kind of primitive hop-scotch by keeping going over diagrams drawn on the ground so that one step only where one ought to go " similar to Bengali ' parakhelā ' (pariḥārapatha), a kind of game played by either removing the pieces or men from a heap with one's nail, or putting them into a heap, in each case without shaking it, he who shakes the heap, loses (santikaṃ); various kinds of playing at dice (khalika, akkha, pāsaka). " hitting a short stick with a long one comy commentary " similar to "lip-cat" or Bengali ' dāṇḍāguli ' "

(ghalikam), played by "dipping the hand in dye or water and drawing figure on wall, ground etc." - - commentary (salākahattha), played by blowing through the toy-pipes made of leaves-comy (paṅgaciram), similar to Bengali "pātār vānshi", ploughing with toy ploughs comy. (vāṅkakaṃ) ; turning summer -saults or Bengali 'dig-bāji' (mokkhacika-comy, gives details); playing with toy windmills made of palmleaves-comy cf. Bengali "pharpahri" (Ciṅgulikam) ; playing with measures made of palm leaves, comy. (pattalaka = pattanāli), playing with toy (khuddaka) carts or chariots and toy bows-comy. (rathaka, dhanuka) ; "Guessing at letters traced in the air or play fellows back" - Comy (akṣharikā) which is the evidence for the knowledge of alphabet in ancient India; guessing the play-fellows thought (manasā cinitita janana kīla)-comy (manesika) and mimicry of deformities i.e. play by showing physical defects of a lame or one-eye blind person-comy (Yathāvajja).

The next paragraphs of the 'Sīla' section provide us a list of furniture of a rich and aristocratic household in ancient India and a list of articles of luxury used for the purpose of toilet which are as follows :- 'āsandi' i.e. an extra long chair (pamaṇatikantāsanam-comy), "pallāṅka" (Skt. paryāṅka) i.e. divans with animal figures carved in the supports", gonaka, i.e. coverlets made of goat's hair having very long fleeces, "Cittaka (Citraka), i.e. a counterpane of many colours, "patika" i.e. white woolen blanket or cloth (Unnamayo seta-aṭṭharko-comy), 'patalika' i.e. a woolen coverlet embroidered with flowers, 'tulika' i.e. quilt or mattress consisting of layers of grass or wool ; 'vikatika' i.e. a woolen coverlet embroidered with figures of lions, tigers etc. 'udāloni, i.e. a woolen coverlet or rugs

with a fringe at each end, ' kathissa ' i.e. a coverlet embroidered with gems (ratana), koseyya i.e. silk coverlet; ' kuttaka ' i.e. a woolen carpet large enough for sixteen dancers -comy, similar to modern ' satarāñca ; coverlets for sitting on elephant, horse and chariot ; ruge made of skins of different kinds of antelope, sauttaracchada i.e. a coverlet with canopy above it similar to modern ' sāmīyānā ' and ubhatolohita kūpadhāna i.e. sofas with red pillows for the head and feet.

Various means of adoration and beautifying the body and also articles of toilet are as follows :-
 ' ucchādana ' i.e. rubbing the limbs with scented powder anointing the body with perfumes; parimaddana i.e. shampooing or massaging the body; ' nahāpana ' skt., snāna) i.e. bathing the body with scents, ' sambāhana i.e. patting the limbs with clubs (muggarādīhi) after the manner of wrestlers-comy., and the use of mirrors (ādāsa), face-powder (mukha-cunṇa); cosmetics for face (mukhalepana), bracelet (hatthabandha), top-knot of hair (sikhābandha), walking stick (daṇḍa), a tube for pouring drugs (nālka), sword (asi), gem (maṇi), fan made of a yak's tail (bijani) and long fringed white cloths (Odātāni vatthāni dīghadasāni).

The Sīla section enlightens us about the topics of the public discussion and gossiping which are regarded by the Buddhist as low conversation (tiracchāna kathā) and gives vivid description of the manner in which the sophists or controversialists of that time carried on Philosophical discussions after indulging in wrangling phrases (viggāhikakathā) as these :
 " Tales of kings, of thieves, or war, of battles, talk about food and drinks, cloths and beds, towns and cities, villages, women, gossip at

street corners (visikhā kathā), place whence water is fetched, ghost stories (pubba-peta kathā), speculations about the creation of the land or sea or about existence and non-existence " and so on.

The section dealing with the ' mahāsīl-
as ' throws light on the various secular occupations of the people who earned their livelihood by so called low arts and low means in the eyes of the Buddhists, though some are not so, the majority of the occupations has a bearing upon certain popular sciences, arts and tactics mixed up with superstitious beliefs, which comprise long list of the following ; palmistry (āṅga), divining by means of omens and signs (nimittam), auguries drawn from thunderbolt and other celestial portents (uppāda), foretelling by interpreting dreams (supiṇṇam), auguries drawn from the marks of cloth (musikacchinnam), different kinds of sacrifices or offerings (agghihoma-dabbihoma, etc.), art of prognosticating from the marks on body (āṅgavijjā), art of determining a suitable site for a house (vatthuvijjā), polity or political science (khattavijjā = nīti-sattha-comy.), knowledge of charms for laying demons in cemetery (sīvavijjā), laying ghosts (bhūtavijjā), knowledge of charms to be pronounced when lodging in an earthen house-comy. (bhurivijjā), snake-charming (ahivijjā), science of poison for curing or giving poison cony. (visavijjā), science of curing or giving poison cony. (visavijjā), science of curing scorpion or mouse bite, knowledge birds (sakūnavijjā), diving by appearance and cawing of crows (vāyasavijjā), " guessing at ripeness " i.e. foretelling the period of a man (pakkajjhānam), charms to shelter from arrows (saraparittānam), understanding

the language of creatures (migacakka), knowledge of marks (lakkhana) denoting good or bad qualities and the health of luck of their owners to wit, gems, garments, sticks, different weapons, man, woman, boys, girls, slaves, animals and birds, soothsaying like ' the home chiefs will gain victory and the foreign chief suffer defeat (abbhanta^{ra}ma^{ra}ma^{ra} jayo bhavissati bahira^{ra}ma^{ra}ma^{ra} para^{ra}jayo bhavissati), astronomical, astrological, geological and climate forecasting such as, " there will be an eclipse of moon, sun, star (candaggaho, suriyaggho): there will be a fall of meteors ukkapato), there will be an earthquake (bhumi^{ca}lo), foretelling of abundant rainfall (suvutthika), a good harvest, a pestilence and so on, counting on fingers (mudda), counting without using fingers (ga^{na}na), summing up the large totals (sam^{kh}ana), composing ballads, poetizing (ka^{ve}yya^{ma}), and casuistry (lo^{ka}yata). These facts testify to the development of different branches of secular science in ancient India.

Further, the occupations concerning social and other rites and functions by means of so called low arts and also medical treatments are as follows :- avaha^{na}ma^{ra} vi^{va}ha^{na}ma^{ra} i.e. arranging a lucky day for marriages in which the bride or bridegroom is brought or sent forth to father-in-law's house, ' sam^{va}da^{na}ma^{ra} ' i.e. a certain magic with chanting charms in order to bring harmony or peace in fixing a lucky time, ' vi^{va}da^{na}ma^{ra} ' i.e. some ceremony as above performed in order to make discord or hostility, saⁿki^{ra}na^{ma} i.e. fixing a lucky time with charms for collecting or calling in debts. ' Vi^{ki}ra^{na}ma^{ra} ' i.e. " charms to bring ill luck to an opponent throwing a dice ", ' su^bha^{ga}ka^{ra}na^{ma}ma^{ra} i.e. " charms to bring ill luck to an opponent throwing a dice ",

' subhagakaraṇam ' i.e. ' using charms to make people lucky ",
 ' dubbhagakaraṇam ' i.e. to do opposite of the former, ' viruddha -
 gabbhakarāṇam ' i.e. chanting charms to procure abortion, incanta-
 tions in order to bring on dumbness (jivhāhibandhanam), to keep
 a man's jaws fixed (hanusamhanam), to make a man throw up his han-
 ds (hatthābhijappana) and bring on deafness (kaṇṇajappana) ,
 obtaining oracular answer through magic mirror (ādāsapañha), Obt-
 aining answer through a good family (kumarīpāñha), obtaining ora-
 cular answer from a god (devapañha), worship of the sun (ādicac-
 apatthana), worship of the Great (mahatupatthana), bring forth
 fire from one's mouth by charm (abbhujjālanam), invoking, Siri
 (Skt. śrī), the goddess of luck (sirivhāyana), ' sentikammaṃ i.e.
 act of a vow to god, ' bhūtakammaṃ ' i.e. to utter charms to paci-
 fy ghosts, ' bhurikamma ' i.e. practices to be observed by one li-
 ving in bhurighara or earth-house, ' vassakamma ' i.e. causing vir-
 ility. ' vossakamma ' i.e. making a man impotent (vasso ti puriso,
 vossoti paṇḍako ; vossakammaṃ - comy.) ' Vatthukamma ' i.e. act
 of concerning sites " i.e. preparing ground for building vāthupar-
 ikirāṇam i.e. ceremonial rinsing of mouth (udakena mukhasiddhik-
 arāṇa), naḥāpaṇṇam ' i.e. ceremonial bathing of other people ,
 ' juhanam ' i.e. offering sacrifices. This section moreover enumer-
 ates various kinds of medical treatment which testify to develop -
 ment of medical science or Āyurveda in ancient India such as
 ' Vamana ' i.e. administering emetic, ' virecana ' i.e. administer-
 ing purgative with two-fold action (1) high (uddha) and low
 (adho) ' sīsavirecana ' i.e. " purging people to relieve the
 head (that is by giving drugs to make sneeze), ' kaṇṇatelaṃ '
 i.e. " Oiling people's ears either to make them grow or to heal
 sores on them " nettatappana ' i.e. attaining or refreshing

eyes or soothing them by dropping medical oil into them, 'natt-hukamma' i.e. nose-treatment by the application of medical oil, añjan i.e. applying collyrium to the eyes, 'puccañjana' i.e. giving medical ointment for the eyes, 'sālākiya' i.e. practising as an ophthalmologist, 'sallakattiya' i.e. practising as a surgeon, dāarakatikicchā, i.e. medical treatment for ailing child or practising infant healing, 'mūlabhesajjanam' anuppādanam i.e. applying remedy of medicines previously given.

To these occupations mentioned in the 'Sīla' sections of both the discourses, the Sāmaññaphala sutta adds the following persons doing professions such as hatthāroha (elephant riders), assāroha (horseman), rathika (charioteers), dhanuggaha (archers), celaka (a standard bearers), celaka (camp marshals or adjutants), piṇḍadāyaka (soldiers who were in charge of food), uggarājaputta (high military officers of noble birth), pakkahandina (military scouts or onrushers), mahānāga (soldiers brave as great elephants), sūra (heroes or champions), camayodhino (soldiers in buokskin), dasikaputta (sons of slaves), alārika (cooks), kappaka (barbers), nahāpaka (bath attendants), suda (confectioners), malakara (garland makers), kumbhakara (potters), gaṇaka (arithmeticians) and mud-dika (accountants) and so others.¹⁴

Milindapañha on education

The Milindapañha indicates the range of Brahmanical learning, sacred and secular, of the times. It included the following : the four vedas, Itihāsa, Purāṇas, lexicography, prosody, phonology, verses, grammar, etymology, astrology, astronomy, the six Vedāṅgas, interpretations of omens, dreams, and signs, prognostications to be drawn from the flight of comets, thunder,

junctions of planets, fall of meteors, earthquakes, conflagrations, and signs in the heaven and earth, study of eclipses of the sun and moon, or arithmetic, casuistry, of the interpretation of omens to be drawn from dogs, deer, and rats, mixtures of liquids, sounds, and cries of birds. Another passage in describing the learning of King Milinda mentions the following additional subjects; the Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Nyāya, and Vaiśeṣika systems of Philosophy, music, medicine, magic, causation, spells, the art of war, poetry, conveyancing, and states the number of the known arts and science (sippas) to be nineteen. The special knowledge of the Kṣatriya was to include a knowledge of all about elephants, horses, chariots, bows, rapiers, documents and the law of property. Another passage mentions the art of calculating, by using the joints of the fingers as signs or marks, of arithmetic (gaṇana) pure and simple, of estimating the probable yield of growing crops, and of writing. The writing of a letter is referred to as well as a writing master exhibiting his skill in writing.

The Pali Jātaka book, ^{and} other Pali texts bear ample evidences of informations about secular education in different kinds of arts and Sciences.

For advanced from the primitive stage as the Jātaka society was, it naturally saw the development and prosperity of various arts and sciences. People in that stage had come to possess refined tastes and aesthetic perceptions : they strove for the joy and beauty in life. Among the secular arts and sciences the following may be mentioned :-

Reading and writing (vacanam, lekkanam) were commonly known. Numerous are the references to the various and widespread uses of writing in the Jātakas, to the writing

of epistles¹⁶, to the forging of letters¹⁷, to inscriptions on gold plates¹⁸, to inscription over a hermitage¹⁹, inscription in letters (akkarāni)²⁰ of vermillion upon a wall²⁰ to letters of the alphabet engraved on gold necklets²¹, to inscriptions upon garments and accoutrements²², to the scratching of a message on an arrow²³, and to the scratching of a writing on a leaf (panna)²⁴.

Among literary works, in addition to the various works of antiquity like the Vedas and the Vendāngas²⁵ the Akkanas or ballads and the stray gathas composed by savakas, isis or kavis, Hatthisuttam or the treatise on elephants was known²⁶. The gāthās of the Jātaka themselves, indeed, reveal a highly developed stage of poetry, rich with imagination and beauty of style, and deep with the thoughts and observation alike. The Akkhanas or the ballads in prose and verse.

We have a distinct reference to nāṭakāni, which were, most probably, dramatic performances, as distinguished from pure dancing and acting or pantomimes²⁷. It seems the age of the Jātakas saw the beginnings of literary activities - of prose, poetry, and Drama - in the ordinary language of the people.

Of mathematical Sciences, we do not get much information from the stories. But there cannot be any doubt that they were far advanced from the Vedic time²⁸. The numerical system must have been well-established, as we guess from the stray references to numerical figures, and their fractions. Some arithmetical process for multiplication must have been in existence in order to get the following instance : $4 \times 500 = 2000$: five hundred attendants for each of the four dogs would make the total two

²⁸
thousand.

Both astronomy and astrology seem to have been well advanced, though no information as to their scientific character is available. Of course various nakkhattajānakas made forecasts on the moving of different constellations (nakkhattacāram). And the popular belief of Rāhu covering up the moon's orb and the latter's liberation from the jaws of the former²⁹, and the idea of hare in the moon³⁰, were also prevalent.

Medical Science and Surgery

The early Pali literature comprising the Canonical Pali texts and Milindapañha sheds abundant light on the development of ancient Indian medical Sciences, tikiccasattha (Cikitsa śāstra) or Āyurveda during the period from the time of Buddha down to the first century B.C. This great science had developed on two different lines, namely, general treatment of healing (tikicchā) and surgery (sallakattiya). The early Pali texts have mentioned different branches of medical sciences such as Sālākiya (Sanskrit sālākia in Sūśruta) or opthalmology, sallakattiya (art of infant healing), visavijjā (Skt. viśavidyā) i.e. treatment of poison cases, poisoning due to biting by snake (akivijjā), scorpion (vicchikavijjā) rats (māsikavijjā) etc. and even the veterinary science dealing with treatment of animals as a side development of the Āyurveda. Besides the medical sciences mentioned above, the Brahmajāla Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya (1, pp. 9-12) refers to another popular art of healing, e.g., bhūtavijjā i.e. the art of curing a person overtaken by ghosts by chanting charms (mantras).

The Satipatthana Sutta of the Majjhima - Nikāya bears ample evidence to the development of the knowledge of anatomical details of the human body. According to the local custom in ancient India, the dead bodies were generally thrown away in cremation ground (sivatthikāya) to undergo the natural process of decomposition or to be devoured by carnivorous animals or birds and the dead bodies could be found there in various stages of disintegration at last remaining scattered bones of different parts of the body. The knowledge of embryology dealing with the process of conception and gradual development of the foetus in the womb and the subsequent stages of development of the child after birth is revealed in the early Pali texts. The doctors of the period were conversant with the knowledge of the body. The medicinal plants, minerals, organic and inorganic substances and their properties, diseases (abandha or roga) and causes of their origin (nidāna), the selection and preparation of drugs for remedy and their application.

We find in the early Pali texts various terms like 'vejja' (vaidya), 'tikicchaka', 'bhisakka' (bhisak) and 'sallakatta' (sayakatā) to designate a physician. These words are found in the Jātakas, Āṅguttaranikāya, Majjhimanikāya, Saṃyuttanikāya, Vinayapitaka and Milindapañha. From the practical point of view these medical practitioners might have been different from one another in the daily life of the society. But the first three terms, vejja, tikicchaka and bhisakka do not show any difference among them and they were indiscriminately used in the Pali texts, Sallakatta i.e. a surgeon, who did surgical operations was different from the other three types of physicians. A Jātaka refers to 'hatthivejja' i.e. elephant doctor.

A surgeon might also had been a physician and so the terms bhisa-kka and sallakatta have been used combinedly to denote a physician who was equally conversant with both medicine and surgery . Besides, the physicians mentioned above there were also bhuttavejja i.e. practitioner of exorcism and ahigunthika i.e. snake-charmer or snake-doctor who held a high position in ancient Indian society. There are sufficient textual evidences to show that the medical practice (vejjakamma) was a recognised profession in ancient India. Besides, the physicians who were engaged in healing the public and took fees (vejjavetana), there were also royal physicians (rāje-vejja) who attended the Royal house .

The physicians were highly esteemed in the society for their humanitarian services by undertaking duties and responsibilities of medical treatment. The Jātaka and the Milindapañha mention the names of celebrated physicians who were the former teachers of doctors (tikicchakānaṃ pubbakā ācariyā), viz., Bhoja, Vetarani, Dhannantari, ~~pubbaka ācariyā~~, viz., ~~Bhoja, Vetarani, Dhannantari~~, Sivaka, Nārada, Āṅgīrasa, Kapila, Kandaggi ssama, Atula and Pubbakaccāyana. Of these physicians Nārada is probably identical with the mythical seer (Devarṣi) of the same name found in the vedic literature. Dhannantari (Dhanvantari) along with Vetarani and Bhoja were well-known healer of old days in case of snake bite. He may be identical with Kāśyapa Dhanvantari , a Brahmin proficient in toxicology mentioned in the Dhanvantari, a Brahmin proficient in toxicology mentioned in the Mahābhārata (Adiparva, ch.42). The name of Āṅgīrasa is found in the Atharvaveda; Kapila may be identical with the famous physician named Kapilabala who is quoted by Bhagbata in Aṣṭāṅga Sāṃgraha , I, xx and the rest

of the physicians mentioned above cannot be identified. The Vinaya Mahāvagga gives account of Jīvaka Komārabhacca the most famous physician and Surgeon in the time of Buddha and Ākāsagotta, also mentioned as Surgeon at that time.

According to the Milindapañha (pp. 247-49), a successful doctor is one who is a true follower of the sages of old (sabhāva-isibhattiko) one who carries in his memory the ancient traditions and expert in mantras (sutamanta padadharo) not a fool but a practical man (atakkiko), skilled in the origination of diseases (rogupattikusalo), skilled in the origination of diseases (roguppattikusalo), his cure efficacious and lasting and who has collected medicines for allaying all diseases (sabbarogupasamabbhesajjani's sannipatessi). A man who is severely ill (paramabyadhita) should go to such a physician for treatment. Again, according to this text, (p. 194) " a physician when an invalid (ālīno) is to be visited, should inspect beforehand his age (bhisakassa pubbe vayum Oloketo a aturo upasankamitabbo)" An ideal physician and surgeon approaches an ill person, he does with whatever remedy by which the man is to be cured (yena yena bhesajjena aturo arogo hoti), making one who is to have emetic have one (vaminīyaṃ vameti), making one who is to have a purgative take one (virecanīyaṃ vireceti), making one who is to be treated with ointment be so treated (anulepanīyaṃ anulimpeti) and making one who is to be given injection of fragrant oil be so treated (anuvsanīyaṃ anuvaseti).

Every man wants to remain healthy and happy and free from diseases. But a man is afflicted by disease and illness which should be removed. So the Aryan sages beginning from the Vedic period developed the Āyurveda śāstra to keep human

body free from diseases, healthy and active. Indigenous people also developed the art of healing in their own way. Buddha as a religious preacher wanted his disciples to remain fit so as to observe moral precepts and follow the religious practices for spiritual progress and ultimately the realisation of Nirvāṇa. The first necessary thing to keep body healthy and active is to take moderate but nutritive food (Kavalīmkāra ahara). So, Buddha instructed his disciples in many discourses " Come you " , monks, be moderate in eating ; you should take food reflecting carefully, not for fun, or indulgence or personal charms or beautification, but taking just enough for maintaining this body and keeping it going, for keeping it unharmed, for being capable for Brahmanavihāra ". The Milindapañha (p.320 and 417) furnishes a list of advantages or disadvantages due to good or bad food thus :

- (1) Food is support of all being (bhojanaṃ sabbasattānaṃ upathambho) and also the sustainer of their life-span (āyudhāraṇaṃ).
 - (2) food is the augments of the strength of all beings (sabbasattānaṃ balavaddhanaṃ).
 - (3) food is the producer of beauty (vanna-jānaṃ),
 - (4) food is the remover of the weakness of exhaustion due to hunger (jīghacchādubbala-yapaṭi-vinodaṃ) and
 - (5) food is the alleviator of suffering (daratha vupasamaṃ), and
 - (6) food is such desired by all beings (bhojanaṃ sabbasattānaṃ abhipatthitaṃ). Depending on food all beings live at ease (āharupaṇissita sabbe satta sukhā annubhavanti, ~
- P. 245.

That the physicians of ancient time were fully conscious of their responsible duties of attending their patients is also attested by an interesting passage occurring in the text.³¹

A physician and Surgeon, when called into a patient suffering from complication of diseases (*anekabyādhīparipīḷam*) considers thus : " By what means or by what medicine can I allay his disease' ? Therefore, the sick man trusted such types of conscientious physicians and were willing to place their lives in their hands without any fear or hesitation. According to one statement (p.169) " even a woman, difficult to be delivered, shows, a physician what is hidden and can not be seen (*itthī mūḥagabbha bhisakkassa adassniyam gūḥam dasseti*).

The popularity of the physicians, due to their success in treatment, is also indicated by another short passage of the Milindapañha : (p.139) which may be also stated in this context - " When a man who was sick, in pain grievously ill, has frequented a physician and achieved a cure, then, recollecting this special quality of what was well done, he constantly frequents the physician " (*tāṃ sukataḡuṇaṃ anussaranto aparāparam bhisakkam upasevati*).

The modes of administering medicines³²

Besides being administered internally, medicines were applied by the physicians in ancient days in diverse other ways. A few passages of the Milindapañha give us an idea of these curing methods.

A passage refers to this - " A Physician and Surgeon approaches a miserably ill man with whatever remedy it is by which he is to be cured : making one who has to have an emetic have one, making one who is to have a purgative

take one, making one who is to be treated with ointment be so treated, making one who is to be given an injection of fragrant oil be so treated " (vamanīyaṃ vameti, virecanīyaṃ vireceti, anulepanīyaṃ anulimpeti, anuvasānīyaṃ anuvaseti (p.169).

We may cite a few other extracts in this context which refers to various forms of treatment : (1) " It is desirable that a sick man to whom an emetic, or a purge or a clyster has been administered should be treated with careful attention (p.215). (2) Preparation for purge - " A physician (vejjo) first of all makes his patients drink oil for four or five days in order to strengthen them and to soften their bodies ; and then afterwards gives them a purgative " (p.229). (3) There is another reference to the treatment with the aid of five kinds of root medicine (pañca mūlabhesajjehi bhesajjakiccam) which are not mentioned specifically in this extract (p.43), but some of which are referred to in the Mahāvagga³³. The Milinda extract runs as follows :- " A physician takes the five medicines that are roots, approaches the invalid, crushes these root-medicines and makes invalid drink them in order to remove his malady " (4) Treatment in the case of humours being disturbed - " Instead of giving, softening medicines (sinehaniyāni bhesajjāni) in a case where the body is full of bad humours, where the humours are disturbed (abhisanne kāye kupite dose), the physician gives a sharp scarifying medicines to the patients for regaining health (tikicchako tiphānidekhaniyāni bhesajjāni arogakāmo deti (p.172)).

Lastly, there is reference to the expedients of doctors (vejjaam upakkame) : medicines, draughts and outward applications (bhajjapanānulepa) by means of which a disease is turned away (rogo patinivatteti) - p. 152).

Disease - Causes of their origin

Like the Suttanipāṭa³⁴ the Milindapañha only refers to ninety eight diseases (atthanavuti roga, p.100) but this work does not give the specific names of these diseases. We, however, find a few names of diseases scattered here and there of this text, viz., Tinapupphakaroga (hay-fever, illness due to grass flowers,³⁵ (p.325) or parilāha (p.218, p.355-fever), visūcika (Cholera, p.153 ; p.167), Lohitapakkhanda (Blood - dysentery, Mil, p.134 etc.

The medical Sanskrit works of Caraka and Suśruta derive the origin of internal diseases principally from the interaction of the three humours (tridoṣa) of the human body-wind, bile and phlegm. The Milindapañha also follows the old medical tradition and traces the origin of sufferings (illness) principally to the disturbed (kṛpita doṣa) humours of the body-
' There are eight causes by which suffering arises, by which many beings suffer pain- superabundance of wind, and of bile and of phlegm, the union of these humours, variations in temperature, stress of circumstances, external agency and maturing of Kamma.

Wind is disturbed in a tenfold way through cold, heat, hunger, thirst, over-eating, resting, striving, running after , effort, the maturing of Kamma.

When the bile is deranged , it is so in one or other ways by cold, heat, unwholesome food. Phlegm is disturbed in a threefold way : through cold, heat, food-and-drink When either of these three humours is disturbed or mixed, it brings about its own special distinctive pains.³⁶

Medical training and Training fee

There is an interesting passage in the Milindapañha (p.353) which gives a fair idea about the course of medical training that was received by the students of ancient India from private medical practitioners. We may quote here the relevant passage which runs as follows :-

" A physician and surgeon (while as a student), having won favour with a teacher either by giving him a fee or by the practice of his duties ,and having gradually trained himself in holding a lancet,in cutting,in marking,in piercing,in extracting arrows, in washing the wounds,in getting them to dry in anointing with medicaments in applying emetics and purgatives,on being a finished hand does he then visit the sick to cure them.³⁷

The above passage indicates that a medical student was to procure for himself a teacher for undergoing practical training in different branches of the medical lore under his guidance and supervision either by paying him the usual fee or by rendering services to the teacher (ācāryam dhanena vā vattapatipaṭṭipattiya vā āradhetvā).

Buddha laid stress on the sound body and alert mind of his disciples,so sick person suffering from any of the five diseases,namely , leprosy (kuṭṭha), boil (gaṇḍa), dry leprosy (kilāsa),consumption (soṣo) and fit (apamāra) were debarred from admission into the Saṅgha,Mahāvagga (p.72). But it is quite natural that any member of the order might have been attacked by any disease and it happened so,so Buddha enjoined a bhikṣu to keep medicine as antidote of disease of illness

(gilāna paccaya bhesajja) as one of the four supporting conditions (nissayas) and prescribed at the early stage to use urine and excrements as medicine (pūti-muttābhesajja) and later on ghee (sappi) butter (navanīta), oil (tela), honey (madhu) and molasses (phānita), Buddha himself attended sick monks. So Buddhist monks in general acquired knowledge in the art of healing. The early pali texts throw abundant light on the names of various diseases and medicines for their treatment. The Brāhmaṇa-dhammika sutta of the Suttanipāta and the Milindapañha refer to 98 kinds of diseases (roga) without giving their names- The Āṅguttaranikāya (V, 110) and the Niddesa (1, 360) furnish almost common list of diseases, but they do not altogether make up the number 98. The list of Āṅguttara nikāya runs thus :-

Cakkhuroga (diseases connected with eyesight), sotaroga (hearing disease), ghānaroga (nose disease), jivhāroga (tongue disease), kāyāroga (body disease), sīsāroga (head), Kannaṇarogo , mukharogo (mouth), danta roga, (tooth), Otṭharoga (lip), kasa (cough), sasa (asthma), pinasa (cold in the head), dāha (burning), jārā (decrepitude), Kūechiroga (abdominal trouble), mucchā (swooning), pakkhandaka (Skt. praskandika) i.e. dysentery or diarrhoea, sūla (acute pain), visūchika (Cholera), kuṭṭha (Leprasy), gaḍḍa (boil or abscess), Kilāsa (Cutaneous disease), So-so (Consumption), apamāra (epilepsy), daddu (Skt. dadru a kind of cutaneous eruption), (itching), Kacchu (Scab), sīta (Skt. śīta, i.e. cold), uṇha (Skt. uṣṇa) i.e. heat, jighacchā (hunger), pipāsā (thirst), uccāra (excrement trouble), passāva (urine trouble), nakhāsa (a disease at the place - scratched by nails), vitacchika (Skt.

Vicarcika i.e. scabies), lohita-pitta (blood in the file), ma_dhumeha (diabetes), amsa (Skt. arsa, probably piles), pilaka (a kind of boil), bhagandala (an ulcer, a fistula), pitta samutt-hāna ābādha (disease due to bile), samāhasamutt-hāna ābādha (diseases due to wind) utupariṇāmaja ābādha (diseases due to change of season), visamaparihāraja ābādha (diseases due to attack of adversities), sannaipātika (disease resulting from the Union of humours), opakkamika ābādha (pain attacking suddenly), spasmodic disease) and Kammvipākaja ābādha (disease due to past karma or action), in the list of the Niddesa oṭṭharoga is omitted and diseases due to mosquito, raptiles, wind, heat, etc. (daṃsa-makasa vāṭatapa sarisapasamphassa) are added. Besides the diseases mentioned above the Pali texts refer to other diseases such as Panduroga (Jaundice), Lohita pakkhandika (blood dysentery), thullakacchu (thick scab), tinapuppha_karoga (hay fever, illness due to grass flower), udaravātābādha (illness due to wind in stomach), ahivataka-roga (snake-wind sickness), piṭṭhi-vāta (pain in back), etc.

Treatment of Diseases

The early Pali Literature throws light on the specific medical treatment of many diseases mentioned above. The Bhesajja-khandhaka of the Vinaya Mahāvagga describes some such diseases, their antidotes and preparation of medicines of them. The prescription of course, according to Buddhist tradition, came out from the mouth of Buddha. The symptoms of the ' sāro-dika diseases ' which broke out in the Autumn season is vomiting of rice gruel (yagu) and rice (bhatta) eaten by the monks

and as a result they became lean (Kisa),wretc ed (lukha),of a bad colour (dubbanna),yellowish (uppandu pandukajāla) and the veins standing out on their limb (dhamani santhatagatta). The remedy prescribed for this disease is five kinds of things, viz., Ghee,(sappi),fresh butter (navaṇita),oil (tela), honey (madhu)and molasses (phāṇita) which are recognised as both food for nutriment (āhara) and medicine (bhesajja) to be taken twice daily in the morning and the evening (kāle ca vikāla ca) prepared just before use.If these are taken at one time, indigestion appears with this disease and the condition of the patient might have deteriorated.

This Khandhaka describes the following thinga to be used as medicine whenever necessary,viz.,the use of cooked food (vāsa) of beats (accha),alligator (susuks), pig (sukara) and donkey (gaddabāca) ; use of roots (mūla of termeric (haliddi), ginger (singivera),orries (vaca),white orris (vacatha), garlic (ativisa), black hellevore (Katukarohini),Khus Khus (usira),nutgrass (bhadda-muttaka) these roots pressed or unpressed to be preserved with the patient and use of large or small grindstone for pressing ; use of a stringent dectotions (kasava) of nimba,kutaja,pakkava (a creeping plant),nattamala , etc. use of leaves of nimba, kutaja,cucumber (paṭola),basi (tulasi), cotton trees (Kappasa) etc. use of fruits of vilāṅga,pepper (pippali),black paper (marica), yellow myrabolan (haritaka),belaric myrabolan (vibhila), emblic myrabolan (āmlaka),gotura etc. ; use of resins (jatu) of himgu,himgujatu,himgu,gum,lac,etc. use of varities of saltish viz.,sea-salt (samudda),black salt (kalalona), rock salt

(saindhava),culinary salt (ubbhida), red salt (bila),
etc,

For the disease like Thullakacchu,
because of the discharge of which robes are stuck with body (ta-
ssa lasikāya cīvarāṇi kāye lagganti) and the monks have to
use water repeatedly to loosen, and other diseases like kaṇḍu ,
pilaka, assava (a running sore), and for one whose body smells
nasty (kāyo duggandho) cūṇam (medicinal powder), ḍuṇḍu (cha-
kana), clay (mattikā) and boiled colouring matter (rajanippa-
kam) were prescribed for one who was not ill (agāṭhana). In this
connection a pestle and a mortar (uḍukkhaḷa - musala) for pre-
ssing, a chunam-shifter (cuppa-cālīṇī) and a cloth-shifter
(dussacālīṇī) were allowed . Elsewhere a perfume-paste was all-
owed for a skin disease. In the Cullavagga (p. 106) the using of
an unshaped scrubber (akatamallakan) at the time of bathing to
get comfort was allowed to scab-diseased monk.

Different kinds of ointment (añjana)
such as kālāñjana (black collyrium), rasañjana (rasa collyri-
um), sotañjana (Sota ointment collected from river), geruka (ye-
llow ochre or red-chalk) and Kapalla or kajjala (lamp-black)
mixed with powders of sandal-wood (candana), rosebay (tagara),
black gum (Kālānūsāra), talasa and nutgrass were prescribed for
healing cakkhuroga, This collyrium is to be preserved in various
kinds of ointment-boxes (añjaṇī) made of bone (atṭhimaya),
ivory (dantamaya), horn (viṣaṇa), bamboo (velu), reed (nala),
piece of stick (katṭha), crystal (phaḷika), and conch-shell (saṅ-
kha, , except gold or silver for Buddhist monks) covered with

lids (apidāna) and tied with thread (suttakena bandhitvā). The use of ointment stick (añjanīsalākā) for applying medicine in the eye and a bag to carry the box were also allowed. In the Cullavagga (p.107) an eye-diseased person is advised to anoint his face, body for a few days. Milindapañha also (p.172) says that a physician gives softening medicine when the body is full of humours and afflicted by them. After lubrication of Buddha's body Jīvaka prescribed a light purgative of three handful of blue lotuses mixed with various medicine (tīniuppalahatthāni nānā bhesajjehi paribhāvetvā) for purging thirty times and advised to take hot bath after the 29th time so that Buddha would be purged full thirty times and also advised to abstain from alms food of juices (alam yusapiṇḍapātena) until Buddha comes to be normal. In the Cullavagga (p.119) it was advised to use jantēghara (hot bath room) and caṅkama-vedikā (a balustrade in the cloister) by these who were afflicted by this diseases.

-kh 38

The Bhesajjandhaka has prescribed to drink raw lye (amīsakhāra) prepared from powder of dry rice mixed with water in order to remove constipation (dutthagahanikā). The Jātakas (vol. VI, p. 43) prescribed a dose of ghee mixed with some medicines as purgative to remove constipation. After taking this, the patient was advised not to talk or work, but simply to lie down in bed.

In order to cure jaundice (paṇḍuroga) the Bhesajjakbandhaka prescribes a compound of cow's urine and yellow myrabalan (muttahaṛitaka), But jīvaka prescribed cooked ghee (Mahāvagga, p. 277).

In order to cure skin disease (chavidosābādha) it was prescribed to make a perfume-paste (gandhalepaṃ kaṭuṃ). When Pilindavaccha's feet came to be split (paḍā phālitaṃ honti) and in order to cure Buddha instructed to prepare foot salve (abhisāṅkhāriti). The Physician by preparing a medicine healed the leper, According to the Jātaka (vi, P.383), a leper had to be carefully nursed. The spot was washed, a salve anointed to it and a bandage was put on it.

The Jātaka (vi, 295) further states that too much indulgence in sexual intercourse might cause various diseases like cough (Kāsa), asthma (sāsa), bodily ^{pain} (~~claraṭṭa~~) and childishness (balyam).

According to the Jātaka³⁹, the treatment for blood dysentery (Lohita - pakkhandika) was a broth made of millet and wild rice, mixed with leaves sprinkled with water without salt and spice and irregular food was known to be one of the causes of dysentery. It was also recognised that proper digestion of food is not possible without proper sleep (Jātaka, 111.p. 143) and indigestion (ajjinna) is due to overeating⁴⁰. Milk mixed with a pungent drug, if drunk, was recognised to ensure protection from getting cold (tikhina bhesajjaparivaritaṃ khīraṃ pivanti⁴¹ sītaṃ na bādhati).

Surgery

Besides medical treatment, development of delicate surgical operations in order to cure certain diseases is known from the early Pali literature. From the biography of Jīvaka Komārabhacca who got his education in medicine under a

Takkaṣiḷā

famous physician of ^{Takkaṣiḷā} as depicted in the Mahāvagga, we know that he was renowned for his skill in surgical operation. Surgeons used knife or lancet (*salla*) for operation. Before operating the head of a merchant of Rājagṛha, Jīvaka made him lie down on a couch, strapped him to the couch, cut the skin of his head and having opened a suture in the skull drew out living creatures (*dve paṇ-ke dassesi*) and then closed the suture of the skull and having sewn the skin of the head applied an ointment. After operations Jīvaka made him lie down for three weeks in three positions on his left side, right side and the back a week in each position and the merchant was cured.

On another occasion Jīvaka did a surgical operation in the abdomen of a boy at Benares, who " while playing at turning somer-sult, came to suffer from a twist in the bowels (*mokkha-cikam kilantassa antagantḥābādho hoti*) so that he did not properly digest the food that he ate or relieve himself regularly", Jīvaka came and observed the boy carefully, tied him fast to a pillar cut open the skin of the stomach, drew out the twisted intestines and disentangled them. He then put them back into their right positions sewed the skin of the stomach and applied ointment to the wound (*ālepaṃ adāsi*) and the boy was cured quickly.

Ven. Pilindavaccha was suffering from rheumatism in the joints (*pabbavāta*), Buddha allowed to let blood using a knife or lancer and to cup with a horn (Mahāvagga, p. 205; Vinaya Atṭhakathā, 1991).

The Bhesajjakhandhakacitēs a case of curing a boil (*ganḍaroga*) by surgical operation (*satthakamma*) and

application of medicine. At first astringent water (kasāyodaka) and sesamum oates (tilakakka) were applied , then compress (kabālāka) was given by piece of cloth. The sore itched (vopō kanḍuvati) and for that mustard powder (sasakudda) was sprinkled. The sore festered (Kilijjitha) and for that fumigation was made (dhumam katum). The flesh of the sore stood up (vana-mamsa vutthati) and it was cut off with a piece of saltcrystal (lonasakkharika). Then oil for the sore (vaṇṭela) was applied and the sore was covered with a piece of linen bandage.

The Devadaha sutta of Majjhimanikāya

(1, p.429) describes how a surgeon cured a man pierced by a poisonous arrow (savisena sallena viddho) and who experienced a severe pain. The surgeon cut around the opening of his wound with a knife and probed him for the arrow with a surgeon's knife (esaniya sallam esi) and extracted the arrow from him. Then the surgeon dressed the opening of his wound with medicated powder. After a time when the skin had healed on the wound the man became well. The Sunakkhatta sutta of the same Nikāya⁴² contains further instructions of the physician and surgeon in this treatment. According to the physician, though the arrow had extracted and the poison drained off, the patient should eat only beneficial foods (sappāyāni bhojanam) and would take care lest, eating harmful foods, his wound would discharge. From time to time he should bathe the wound and anoint the opening of the wound (vanamukham alimpeyyasi) and take care of when out of door otherwise the wound would be septic causing ultimately death.

According to the Bhesajjakhandhaka, a physician named Akāssgotta was doing surgical operation to cure monk suffering from fistula (bhagandala) which was forbidden by

Buddha for the reason that it was in the concealed part of the body. Jīvaka, however, cured fistula of the King Bimbisāra by applying ointment once (Mahāvagga, p.273).

According to the Sivi Jātaka (vol.lv, pp.406-7), Jīvaka was a master surgeon who by surgical operation took out two eyes of the King and grafted them in the sockets of eye-ball of a Brāhmaṇa. The Milindapañha describes in a few extracts how the surgeons in those days undertook surgical operations and were successful in healing the wounds of the patients. The surgeon quickly extracts an arrow and cures a disease is called a clever physician (yo ca bhisakko Kippaṃ sallāṃ uddharati yogam^{aparati} so bhisakko cheṭṭo nāma) .

The method of treatment of a serious wound turned into a boil, is described in an extract (p.112) ; the treatment here is a combination of medicine and surgery. Thus we read, " A wound, full of old blood, perforated by an arrow going inside (antosallāṃ susiirāgataṃ pubba-ruhira-sampunṇaṃ vaṇaṃ) is suddenly attacked by the union of acute wind, bile, phlegm, change of season and the stress of circumstances ; and in assuaging it a clever physician and surgeon swears the opening of the wound with a harsh, pungent caustic, bitter medicine so as to heal it and when he has healed it and when what had become soft has been cut away with a knife, he cauterises it with a stick . After caustering it, he administers a caustic lotion for accomplishing the cure of the person who was afflicted by the disease by closing his wound.

Another extract (p.149) describes the process adopted by a physician and surgeon (bhisakko sallakatto)

for the treatment of a boil. If a man suffering from a fatty tumour (medogaṇṭhi) arising on his body calls in a physician and surgeon to escape from the distress of severe pain, a physician agrees to attend the patient. The physician then takes the following measures for the remedy of the disease, before he sets his hand on the operation ; he sharpens his lancet (satt-hakam tikhiṇaṃ) ; he then places the pair of caustic sticks (yamaka-dahana-salāka) on fire ; he also pulverizes lye and salt (khāralavaṇaṃ) on a grind stone. All these measures are taken by him for healing the disease of the patient (tasa rog-assa uddhāranaya).

It is known from another reference (pp. 73-74) that the wound of a man, being injured by an arrow (kaṇḍappahāra) on the battle-field was generally anointed with ointment, smeared with oil and bandaged with a soft cloth (sukkhumena celapattēna), so that flesh might grow (maṃsas-sa rūhamatthaya) on the wound leading to recovery.

But a man injured by a dart or spear, fallen ill thereby (sattihato ābādhiko), not obtaining a physician (bhisakkam alabhamāno), dies untimely, though there is a further portion of his span of life (vijjamaṇe pi uttarim ayu-smim).

Snake-bite

At Milindapaṇha p. 43, it is stated that a man consumed by the fierce energy of poison, not obtaining the help of a doctor for cure (tikicchakam alabhamāno) dies untimely. Similarly, the man affected by poison, with all his limbs

burning, not obtaining proper antidote (agadam alabhamāno) dies untimely.

There is a reference to a snake charmer (ahigunṭhika)⁴⁴⁴ who might give an antidote to that man, bitten by a highly poisonous snake, so as to counteract the poison (balavata āsivisena datṭhassa agadam datvā avisam kareyya).

A few method of curing snake-bite are also referred to in an extract (p.152)- the poison emitted into the body of a man bitten by a snake was resorbed (by the snake which gave the bite) by means of an incantation (mantapadena visam pātiyamāno) or the poison was destroyed by squeezing out (by an antidote) , or the poison was washed out by the application of a lotion above or below the spot (visam cikkassanto uddham-adho ācamayamāno). On page 150 of the Milindapañha, we find another reference to a spell which was used for fetching back the snake that had bitten the man and making the snake resorb the poison, it had emitted into him (mantapadena tam datṭhavisam āsivisam ānetvā tam datṭhavisam paccācamapeyya).

Safety-runes as Medicines (Bhesajja-paritta)

The recitation of verses of protection (paritta) which is a very popular Buddhist practice is also mentioned in the Milindapañha⁴⁴⁵. It refers to a few important suttas (besides many other found in the Pali canon) the recitation of which is believed to act as medicine in warding off all evils and dangers including diseases and effects of poison. Such is the efficacy of chanting the Parittam (which serves as an exorcism formula or benediction) that a snake ready to bite

a man does not do so but its jaws and a malignant poison, a person has eaten, turns into an antidote or serves as food⁴⁶.

Besides the medical science the Pali Jātakas furnish information of other secular sciences (Si-ppāni).

The science of Archery

Issāpasippa - once a highly advanced science, has almost lost its place to-day. In the Jātakas, we have several instances which show this science had attained to a high state of efficiency.

In the Asadisa Jātaka⁴⁷, we see Prince Asadisa exhibiting a marvellous feat of archery. The king, in whose service he was employed had asked him to bring down a cluster of mango-fruit. The archer chose a suitable position. He spread a screen around him and there doffed the white cloth which he wore over- all, and put on a red cloth next his skin ; then he fastened his girdle, and donned a red waist- cloth. From a bag he took out a sword in pieces, which he put together and girt on his left side. Then he put on a mailcoat of gold, fastened this bow-case (capa- nalim) over his back, and took out his great ramshorn bow (menḍa- kamahādanu), made in several pieces, which he fitted together . fixed the bow-string, red as coral (pavālavannamjiyam) ; put a turban upon his head; tearing the arrow with his nails, he threw open the screen and came out, prepared for the amazing feat..... He sped the arrow forth swiftly (vegam ja netvā kaṇḍam khiṇi). As the arrow went up, it pierced the exact centre of the mango stalk Then he let fly another arrow with greater

speed than the first. This struck the feather (puṁkhe) of the first arrow , and turned it back ----- Down it came, not a hairbreadth out either way, but neatly cut through the stalk of the mango cluster.

More amazing and marvellous are the feats of the master-archer Jotipāla of the Sarabhaṅga Jātaka^{4,8}. The same preliminary preparations are made. He has summoned for expert archer men, who pierce like lighting (akkhana sadda-vedhi), and to cleave a falling arrow (saravedhi), himself stands in the middle with an arrow tipped with adamant (vajir-aggaiṇ nāracaṇi), and asks the four men to shoot him all at once. They begin to shoot their arrows simultaneously. But he strikes them severally with his own iron arrow, and makes them drop on the ground, and remains unhurt to the last. This is called the arrow-defence (sarapṭṭibāhanam^a). Then to show that he can shoot the four men posted at the four corners, with a single arrow, he fixes four plantains (kadaliyo) at the four corners, with a single arrow, he fixes four plantains (kadaliyo) at the four corners, and fastening a scarlet thread (rattasuttakam) on the feathered part of the arrow, he shoots it aiming at one of the plantains. The arrow strikes it, and then the second, the third and the fourth, one after another, and then strikes the first, which it already pierced, and so returns to the archer's hand ; the plantains stand encircled with the thread. This called the ' pierced circle ' - Cakkaviddham.

Among the fine arts, the kalās or sippas, appertaining to music both vocal (gītā) and instrumental (vādita) and dancing (nacca) were widely cultivated. Not only

the kings and nobles who were, always surrounded with musicians (gandhabba) and dancers (natanaccaka⁴⁹), but ordinary people too loved to sing and dance or hear and witness others doing so. Women of course were naturally gifted in this respect. Even a poor girl gathering firewood in a garden does her work with the accompaniment of singing⁵⁰. Another young girl gathers flowers of all kinds, makes them into a flower - wreath (pupphacumbata-kam), climbs a mango tree with beautiful flowers, standing on the bank of a river, and plays there, dropping flowers into the water singing in a sweet voice⁵¹. A great merchant's son does not go after any serious learning but only enjoys in singing and dancing (gitanacca⁵²). Undoubtedly people had a great love for music⁵³. The Kinnaras, as usual, are noted for sweet music and dancing⁵⁴. Naturally there were master-musicians (gandhabba), like Guttala and Musila and Sagga⁵⁵, who taught music to others and sometimes also held competition among themselves.

Unfortunately we do not get much information as to the technical character of vocal music except that it was sweet (madhura). But there must have been certain rāgas or modes of singing corresponding to the tunes of musical instruments, no doubt. The keeping of perfect harmony between the notes of song and the tunes of the cords only could produce the best music⁵⁷.

⁵⁸ Among the musical instruments (tur-iyāni), the vīṇā even then was the most popular. Now what kind of vina was this ? It appears that this old vina was a harp without a post ; it had a hollow belly (doni), covered with a board or stretched leather (camma-pokkhara⁵⁹); this belly was broader towards the back, where its end was rounded, and tapered

towards the front, where it was continued into upstanding curved arm (danda⁶⁰) which often terminated in a little scroll like the head of a violin. It had seven strings (sattatanti⁶¹), which were one above the other, and stretched from the arm to the belly, forming as it were arcs to the crescent of the whole frame. The top-most string was called the bhamaratanti-bee-string⁶²; all these strings passed through holes (chiddani⁶³) in the flat surface (parchment sounding board) of the belly, and probably also passed through, and were fastened to, its rounded under side (pokkhara). The weight of the instrument lay well back. Thus, from this description of the different parts of the vīṇā, it becomes clear that it was much simpler than the 'bin' of the modern type, but similar to that depicted in the sculptural representations at Barhut and elsewhere.

This old vīṇā was used equally by men and women, either as a solo instrument⁶⁴, or as an accompaniment to song⁶⁵, but even more often to accompany dancing⁶⁶, whether dramatic or professional⁶⁷. It was held under the left arm or in the lap, with its thin arm projecting forwards and upwards. It was played upon by the finger-nails (agganakhehi⁶⁸) of the right hand. From the Guttīla Jātaka⁶⁹, which presents before us the two master-musicians, playing upon the vīṇā, first having tuned it to a high pitch (uttamamucchanaya⁷⁰) and finally plays with the strings slack (sithila). Evidently, all the seven strings resounding make a music powerful and divine⁷⁰. In the case of a harp for charming elephants (Hatthikanta vīṇā⁷¹), three of the strings have magical effects when struck.

Of other string-instruments, we have no knowledge. But of other kinds of musical instruments coming under the pañcaṅgika turiyam, many are mentioned : Pāṇissara, sammataḷa or the cymbals, kumbhatūṇa (udakavādyā ?) playing on cups filled with water in varying proportions, various kinds of drums-Bherī, mūtiṅgā, muraja, ālambara, ānakā-, conches, etc.- saṅkha, paṇavadendīmā, kharamukhaṇ, godhāparivādentikā, kuṭumbatindimani⁷². Of the wind instruments, venu, or the flute was popular.⁷³

Music and dancing go together. The Nāṭa-nattakas are frequently mentioned in the stories.⁷⁴ Much of this dancing seems to have been of an acrobatic character, like the javeline dance,⁷⁵ or the pole dance. But serene^e dance, with waving hands, regulating foot-falls and graceful movements, performed with the accompaniment of the vīṇā or the venu, is also known.⁷⁶ The inborn instinct of graceful movements led people to see this phenomena not only among human being, but also in Nature (Cf., the Vedic usas) in beasts and birds. And people liked to train pea-cocks and pea-hens to utter sweet notes and dance at the snapping of fingers and clapping of hands.⁷⁷

The pictorial art, cittakamma, also seems to have been highly developed and to have added its own quota to the endless artistic glories of India. Paintings were drawn on the walls (bhitti) as well as on panels or boards (phalaka).⁷⁸ We read of prince Kuśa preparing a palm-leaf fan for his beloved Pabhavati, a banquet hall amongst a variety of other forms, he represents a standing figure of Pabhavati.⁷⁹ Balls, with various designs painted on them in variety of colours, are also mentioned (cittabhenduka).⁸⁰ In the great religious assembly

constructed under the supervision of the wise Mahosadha, painter (*cittakāre*) painted beautiful pictures (*raṇṇiyyam cittakamma*), so that the hall became like Sakka's palace Sudhamma.⁸¹ and on the walls on other side in the great tunnel-Mahā-ummagga-clever painters made various kinds of paintings ; the splendour of sakka, the zones of Mount Sineru, the sea and the ocean, the four continents, Himavat, Lake Anotatta, the vermillion, Mountain, Sun and Moon, the heaven of the four great kings with the six heavens of sense and their divisions-all were to be seen in the paintings⁸² of the marvellous paintings in the grand cathedral caves of Ajantā.

For this *Cittakamma* or painting, the surface of the wall appears to have been most ordinarily used, as even the ordinary houses had the walls decorated with vermillion letters, and perhaps some other representations also. The walls, on which the paintings were to be made, must be carefully plastered, probably coated with lime and nicely polished (*sudhālepanam*).⁸³ Lattice - work (*kilañja*) was also known.⁸⁴

The plastic arts, particularly sculpture, appear to be more difficult of execution and perfection than the pictorial, at first sight. Obviously the manual labour is greater and the knowledge of anatomy must be higher owing to the need to show the third dimension. However, the creative excellence and uniqueness are distinctly superior in painting which soars to limit, less heights, in imagination and finery. Sculpture flourished side by side with, if not to the same extent as, paintings in the days of the Jātaka stories. Unfortunately, no

speciment of sculptural achievements has survived which can be satisfactorily identified as belonging to this period, though the sculptor's art is as the Indus Valley, as the antiquities discovered as Mohenjodaro and Harappa clearly testify.

The earliest material for carving selected by the Indian artist seems to have been wood. Gradually stone and metal revealed before the artist an inexhaustible field for the display of his skill and craftsmanship.

The Jātakas inform us that carving out figures from wood was known. The Brāhmaṇa of the ⁸⁵Aśtamanta-Jātaka, cuts a fig tree and prepares a life-size wooden figure from it. We also hear of a stone-image (*silāpatimā*) of an elephant erected at the Karandaka monastery (*assamapadaṃ*)⁸⁶, which at once brings before our eyes that famous stone-elephant of Dhauli (Orissa) where the Edicts of Aśoka are written. In the great tunnel constructed by Mahosadha, there were, in the Royal chambers, statues of women (*matṛgāṇmapottakarūpakāni*), very beautiful ; without touching them no one could tell they were not human.⁸⁷ And we have numerous references to statues of gold (*suvanna patimā*)⁸⁸, though of their artistic qualities we have nothing to say. We also read of a gate-house which had a decorated peak and was surrounded by statues of Indra as though guarded by tigers.

The Jātakas nowhere expressly mention in image of god, but from what we are told of the Cetiya, thūpas and the devakulas or the temples outside the cities, where presumably the gods or devatas were worshipped, we might assume that such images were not unfamiliar in those days. Within a few centuries these shrines developed into those wonderful structures, at

Barhut and at Sanchi among others, where series of scenes from these very stories first begin to challenge the artist's imagination and embody skill.

Of secular architecture, there were housing and village-construction as also the fortifications of a city. The mention of the vatthuvijjācariya⁸⁹ as or men qualified for testing sites for house-building⁹⁰, and of Vissakamma, the Divine Architect⁹¹, sufficiently shows the importance of secular architectural science. The existence of great halls and palaces cannot be doubted. The cyclopean walls of Old Rājagaha, frequently occurring in the stories, are undoubtedly very ancient. The ratiyaddhamapāsāda and the pupphakapāsāda as also the iron palace, ayoghara - are mentioned.⁹²

Of religious architecture, we only discern the first beginnings in the stories. We do find mention of the devakulas (lit., . residence of the gods) or temples, but we do not know anything about the nature and architectural character of these buildings, except that they were the resort-places of the travellers thus corresponding to the eter - day dharmasālās. We hear of palaces resting on a single pillar (ekathūnakapāsāda)⁹³. Some palaces had huge octagonal stone columns (silāthambhe) numbering one thousand.⁹⁴ Several architectural terms seem to be not devoid of interest : Kottaka⁹⁵ is usually ' gatehouse ', Kottahagara is a store house,⁹⁶ but Kutāgāra generally means a house with a finial or roof ridge.⁹⁷

The Mañā-ummagga Jātaka⁹⁸ presents before us a marvellous underground construction - a great engineering feat. The description of the construction of the great tunnel is indeed too realistic to be passed off unnoticed : the mouth of

the tunnel was upon the Ganges bank ; its entrance was in the City. It was provided with a door, eighteen hands high, fitted with machinery (Yantayuttadvāra) so that all were closed by pressing a peg (āṇi). On either side , the tunnel was built up with bricks (itṭhikāṇi) and worked with stucco (sudākanmam) ; it was roofed over with planks (padaracchanam) and plastered with cement (ullokamattika) and then whitewashed (setakanammān). In all there were eighty great doors and sixty-four small ones, all of which closed by pressing one peg and opened by pressing another. On either side there were some hundreds of cells for placing lamps (diḷāyā), and they also were provided with machinery, so that when one was opened, all were opened, and when one was shut, all were shut. On either side , there were one hundred and one bedrooms (sayanagabbha) for hundred and one Khattiyas. In each of these was laid a variegated bed, as also a great couch shaded by a white umbrella, a throne placed near the couch and a statue of a woman of surpassing beauty. Also on either side of the tunnel skilful painters made all sorts of paintings as described before. The floor was like a silver-plate being strewn with sand (vāluka). On the roof were full-blown lotus flowers (ullokapadumani). On both sides were booths (āpane) of all kinds; here and there were hung festoons of flowers and scented blooms. Thus they adorned the tunnel until it was like the divine hall of Sudhamma, a grand construction, this. The Ajanta and Elora caves, out of so many existing rock-cut structures, show that the above description is not simply an imaginative picture. Then again , we have several references to thūpas (Stūpas) , built upon the remains of the deceased persons . The Sujāta Jātaka¹⁰⁰ relates, that a land owner from the day of his father's death was filled with sorrow , and taking his bones from

the place of cremation he erected an earth-mound (*mattikathūpaṃ*) in his pleasure-garden, and depositing the remains (*aṭṭhīni*) there, he visited the place from time to time, adorned the top with flowers and studiously lamented, neglecting his daily duties and personal comforts. Another ^{10/} *Jātaka* gives an account, much more minute, of the obsequies of a king. The ladies of the royal harem came to the ceremony (*ālāhanam*), as retinue for the deceased king, with red garments, disheveled hair and torches in their hands. The ministers made a funeral pyre (*dārūṇaṃ citakaṃ*) with a hundred wagon-loads of wood. On the spot, where the body was burnt, a shrine (*Cetiya*) was erected and honoured for seven days with offerings of incense and flowers. The burnt skull (*śīsakapālaṃ*) inlaid with gold, was put at the king's gate, raised on the spear-like staff (*kuntaḍḍee*) serving as royal insignia, and was honoured with incense and garlands.

From these two typical cases, we come to know something about the original and simpler character of the *thūpa* and the *cetiya*. The *topes* (*thūpas*), says, Rhys Davids, were not especially Buddhist monuments, but in fact, pre-Buddhistic, and indeed only a slight modification of a worldwide customs. Originally made, in the Aryan days, of Wood or Bamboo, those began to give place to more enduring structures. Instead of heaps of earth or of stones covered with beginning to be built solid brick structures. " The first step was probably merely to build carefully than usual with stones, and to cover the outside with fine *cunam* plaster to give it a marble-like surface. The next step was to build the Cairn of concentric layers of the huge bricks in use at the time and surround the whole with a wooden railings ".

None of the most ancient structures of this kind have survived or been explored sufficiently to enable a restoration to be drawn. But some idea can, no doubt be had for examples of a little later period. The most glorious examples of the stupa now in existence, viz., those of Barhut and Sanchi, with their wealth of inside and outside decoration, presuppose a few centuries of artistic as well as religious development.¹⁶²

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85. *ibid.*,i. p.287
86. *ibid.*,iv, p.95
87. *ibid.*, vi, p.432
88. *ibid.*, I, p.343 ; III. p.93 ; iv.p.105; v.p.282
89. *ibid.*, vi, pp.125-6
90. *ibid.*, I. p.297 ; iv.p.323
91. *Jātaka*,I, pp.314 - 5 ; vi. p.332
92. *ibid.*, iv.pp.122 ,492 ; v.p.187 ; vi p. 117-9
93. *ibid.*, iv. pp.79, 153
94. *ibid.* iv. p.25 ; vi.pp.127
95. *ibid.*, pp.227 ,351 ; II. p.431 ; vi p.413
96. *ibid.* v.p.184
97. *ibid.*, v. p.188.
98. *ibid.*,vi. pp.332. - 3

Buddhist Monastic Universities in Ancient India :

Buddhist monastery (Vihāra) was a residential abode of Buddhist monks and nuns. The first Vihāra was the Venuvana- Vihāra, as already mentioned, offered by the King Bimbisāra to the Buddha for Buddhist saṅgha and subsequently other Vihāras were donated. With their simplest beginning during life-time of Lord Buddha, such a monastic establishment grew up in abundance throughout India in later periods also. Emergence of such a large number of Vihāra was possible due to the primary need for residence of innumerable Buddhist monks and nuns. Generally every Buddhist monastery was an educational Institution. At a later time, these Vihāras became transformed into grand monastic Universities (Mahāvihāra or Saṅghārāma) to which students flocked together from far and near to acquire knowledge in different subjects. Many distinguished scholars from distant foreign countries used to come to reputed monastic universities at Nālandā, Vikramaśīlā, Jaggadala, Takṣasīlā, Odantapuri, Valabhi, etc. to study under guidance of renowned teacher like Śīlabhadra, Dharmapāla, Atīśa Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna, Ratnākaraśānti and so on. Here, very brief accounts of a few Universities are given.

UNIVERSITY OF NĀLANDĀ

Nālandā Mahāvihāra or the University of Nālandā was the largest Buddhist monastic University in Ancient India. No doubt, Takṣasīlā was older and more extensive than Nālandā, rather the former had many centres of secular and Brahmanical education from Pre-Buddhist even Vedic periods

and later on it became a Buddhist centres of learning regarding which our knowledge is very limited whereas Nālandā was very far-framed and much known for only Buddhist learning.

HISTORY

Nālandā has a very ancient history which goes back to the days of Mahāvīra and Gautama Buddha in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. From Pre-Buddhist time Nālandā was a lovely resort of saints and ascetics belonging to different sects and creeds. ¹ Mahāvīra, the great Jaina Tīrthāṅkara, described as Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta in Pali literature stayed here. The Pali Buddhist literature contains many references to Nālandā. It is said that Buddha during his missionary journeys in Magadha often halted at Nālandā, which was then a prosperous town, thickly populated and containing a mango park called Pāvārika Ambavana formerly belonging to Pāvārika setṭhi who donated it to the order of disciples of Buddha (Atha Kho Bhagavā mahatā bhikkusaṅghena saddiṃ yena Nālandā tadavasari, Tatra sudam Bhagavā Nālandāyaṃ viharati Pāvārikambanane - Dīgha Nikāya, 11 - p.81). Definitely a monastery (Vihara) was constructed at Nālandā for staying of Buddha and his disciples¹. Buddha had here discussions with Upālī Gahapati, a great lay devotee and Dīgha Tapassi, a chief disciple of Nigaṇṭha (i.e. Mahāvīra discussed about doctrines and converted them to his own dhamma²). Buddha preached Kevaṇṭa sutta of Dīgha Nikāya to Kevaṇṭa, a wealthy and distinguished house-holder of Nālandā, which was also the residence of soṇadinnā, a female lay devotee of Buddha³.

In early period Nālandā was the name of a village. The Jaina texts carry the history earlier than Buddhist.

Mahāvīra spent the greater part of his missionary life and passed as many as fourteen rainy seasons (varṣās) at Nālandā⁴ (Bhagavatī Sūtas) and here in later period a beautiful temple was erected. Here Maskarī Gosalamet Mahāvīra for the last time and separating himself from the later established his own group of followers⁵. A later Jaina text, Sametasikhara tīrthamālā, even mentions Burgaon as the then name of Nālandā. According to Jaina Sūtraktarīṅga (sacred Books of the East, XLV, p.420), Nalanda had hundreds of houses of many " slaves, cows, buffaloes, sheep, horses, beds, seals, vehicles, chariots, gold and silver wares " , who offered his hospitality to the Buddha and became disciples.

The exact identification of ancient Nālandā with the modern village of Baragaon, seven miles north of Rajgir (Rājagṛha) was made by Cunningham (Ancient Geography of India, p.468) on the basis of the distance and directions given by the Chinese pilgrims and some image inscriptions discovered in the ancient ruins near the Nālandā station on the Bukhtiarpur Bihar Branch line of Eastern Railway. In the Sumaṅgalavikāsinī (I.P. P.35) We find that distance from Rājagṛha to Nālandā was one Yojana. In ancient times there was a high road which, starting from Rājagṛha, passed through Nālandā and reached up to Pāṭaligāma. During the last journey from Rājagṛha to Kusinagar Buddha followed this route⁷.

Another village near Rājagṛha (Pali-Rājagṛha) was Nala, which is mentioned in the Mahāsudassana Jātaka as the birth place of Buddha's chief disciple, Elder sariputra⁸ who uttered his " Lion's roar, " affirming his faith in the Buddha, shortly before his death.

Regarding the name of the locality as Nālandā, Huen Tsang, the renowned Chinese traveller of the seventh century, says that according to tradition the place owed its name to the nāga, a dragon living in a tank in the Mango Park existing to the south of monastery. But Huen Tsang rejected this tradition though Itsing accepted it (Watters, on Yuen Chowang, ii . p.166) and prefers the Jataka story that Buddha, in one of his former births as a Bodhisattva became a king with his capital at this place, and that his liberality won for him and gave his Capital the name Nālandā, i.e. " Charity without intermission ((na alandā). But this derivation does not satisfactorily convey the sense that it is intended to.?

After the demise of Buddha Nālandā lost its prosperity and all religious creeds along with it probably due to a severe famine which broke out during life of Buddha¹⁰. It is hardly known to us how long this desolate condition prevailed except the Tibetan chronicles are quite silent about the history of Nālandā upto the rise of Guptas. Lama Tārānātha (A.D.1500), in his " History of Buddhism in India "¹¹ records the tradition that Nālandā was the birthplace of Śāriputta, and Aśoka, the great Mauryan emperor of the third century B.C., visited and gave offerings to the Caitya of Śāriputta that existed at Nālandā and erected a temple here and in this way the first founder of the Nālandā Vihāra was Aśoka (P.72). But Nālandā did not become educationally important before the rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism in about first century B.C. According to Tārānātha the great Mahāyāna philosopher and alchemist of about second century A.D., Nāgārjuna who travelled over many holy places of India, might have come to Nālandā,

began his studies as a disciple of the sage Rahulabhadra¹² and later on became the high priest of Nālandā which within a century or two became full fledged university and a great centre of Mahāyāna Buddhism. It is also added that Suviṣṇu, a Brāhmaṇa, contemporary of Nāgārjuna, erected one hundred and eight temples at Nālandā to prevent the decline of both the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna schools of Buddhism (schiefner , of cit pp.69 ft.) Tāraṇātha^a also connects Āryadeva, a philosopher of the Mādhyamika school of Buddhism of the early fourth century, with Nālandā (ibid, p.83) Further , Asaṅga (4th century A.D.), a great exponent of the Yogācāra doctrine, spent here twelve years of his later life and was succeeded by his philosopher brother Vasubandhu as the high priest of Nālandā (ibid, p.122). These Tibetan traditions would lead one to believe that Nalanda was centre of Buddhism already at the time of Nāgārjuna and continued to be so in the following centuries. But archaeological excavations testify to the fact that under the active support and patronage of the Gupta emperors who were free from orthodoxy Nālandā regained the past glory and became fully developed and well organised University (Mahāvihāra) which was probably flourished during circa 450 to 1100 A.D.¹³ Under the Guptas and the later monarchs of Magadha Nālandā not only regained its former glory but surpassed it far. The followers of the Mahayana Buddhism and Tantric Buddhism and also non-Buddhist preachers again made the place their favourite residence. The earliest evidence of the history of the revival of Nālandā belonged to the reign of Kumāragupta I (C. 414-455 A.D.) Sakraditya. Kumāragupta (I) mentioned by Hien Tsang laid the foundation of the greatness of Nālandā by establishing and

endowing a monastery and that successors built some monasteries.¹⁴ As some of these names were borne by the Gupta emperors, it has been held that all of them refer to the Imperial Guptas of the fifth and sixth centuries. The accounts of Fa-hien, the Chinese Pilgrim of the early fifth century, indirectly confirms the assumption that the monasteries of Nālandā were the creations of the Gupta emperors beginning with Kumāragupta I. Fa-hien does not mention the monastic establishments of Nālandā, He speaks of the village Nalo, the place of birth and death of Śāriputra existing there.¹⁵ There is a view that Fa-hien did not at all visit Nālandā.¹⁶

It may be noted that the monasteries founded during the Gupta period were planned in the old traditional pattern of the Kṛṣṇa age - an extensive square courtyard and flanked on all sides with a running verandah with the monk's cells at the back. A few of these courtyards and their verandahs are still visible. In some of them a shrina with a dias in front on a lower level is also found. Lectures and discourses were delivered in these courtyards, the preceptor used to stand or sit on the dias with a pulpit in front him to spread his manuscripts upon, when the pupils squated round him. In some of these courtyards a well and a small set of open ovens which were meant to meet the occasional physical needs of the students during long discussions, could be found. Sometimes an extra cell, besides one cell and one stone comfortable bed for each monk, was arranged evidently for storing books and personal belongings. Neither lighting arrangements nor bathrooms could be traced. Prajñavarman, a Korean

monk who visited about four decades after Hiuen Tsang, recorded that the foundation of the Vihāra " was laid, but the work for some time stopped ". Among the successors of Śākṛāditya, as stated by Hiuen Tsang, who erected more monasteries were Gupta kings like Buddhagupta, the son or grandson of Śākṛāditya constructed a monastery to the south of the original one ; Tathāgatagupta erected another to the east of Buddhagupta's, Bālāditya erected a three-storeyed pavillion (a temple along with the monastery); Vajra, his son and successors, constructed a monastery to the West of Bālāditya 's and an unnamed king of Mid-India. The king of Mid-India may be taken to be Harṣa who built a Vihāra of brass at Nāl-andā and built round edifices a high wall with a gate. Thus a continuous series of endowments through the centuries by a succession of sovereigns took the form of Buildings as well as land from which came the where withal for the maintenance of the University. Hiuen Tsang thus mentions six monasteries as having built by as many kings and these constituted the Nālandā monastic and University establishment in his time.

Hiuen Tsang witnessed an eighty feet high copper image of Buddha made by Puṇḍavarma, the last of the race of Aśokaraja¹⁸ belonging to early sixth century A.D. According to the biographer of Hiuen Tsang, the illustrious Harṣavardhana of Kanauj (606 - 647) was a great patron of Nālandā Mahāvihāra (University), a Unitary establishment as its official seal showed bearing inscription. Nālandā-mahāvihārayārya bhikṣu-saṅghasya, i.e. " of the venerable Monk-community of Nālandā Mahāvihāra¹⁹ ". Harsha greatly helped the instruction by his munificence, he remitted the revenues of about one hundred villages as an

endowment of the great convent and two hundred householders of these villages contributed the required quantity of rice, butter, milk. Hence, the biographer of Huen Tsang, adds, "The students of Nālandā had no anxiety for daily requisites and so they could devote their whole time for studies and get perfection in subjects". About a thousand monks of Nālandā when Harsa esteemed highly, joined the royal congregation at Kanauj.²⁶

Huen Tsang has left for us a vivid account of the great organisation Nālandā Mahāvīra^{hā} which not only for its magnitude but also for the high standard of its educational system and scholarship surpassed any other institution of the ancient East. In this monastic university there was accommodation for ten thousand students who used to study under the guidance of learned teachers who also numbered about fifteen hundred (ibid p.112). Monks of Nālandā were highly respected everywhere. Just before the visit of Huen Tsang Ācārya Dharmapāla was high priest there. After him, his disciple Ācārya Śīlbadra, son of the king of Samatata (Lower Bengal) became the abbot under whose guidance, Huen Tsang received here the Indian name Mokṣadeva and was remembered by the inmates of the Nālandā monastery long after he had left the place. Several years after his return to China, Prajñādeva, a monk of Nālandā, sent him a pair of clothes, saying that the worshippers everyday went on offering to Huen Tsang their bows and salutations.

Nālandā had by now acquired a celebrity spread all over Asia as a centre of Buddhist theology and educational activities. This is evident from the fact that within a short period of thirty years following Huen Tsang's departure,

no less than eleven Chinese and Korean travellers are known to have visited Nālandā.²¹

Itsing, another Chinese traveller, who visited Nālandā after Huen Tsang in late seventh century A.D. and studied at Nālandā University for a considerable time of about ten years, (675 - 685) A.D. records very minute details about life led by the Nālandā monks, which regarded as the best ideal to be followed by the Buddhists all over the World. Itsing says that the number of monks of the Nālandā Mahāvihāra exceeded three thousand in his time, maintained by more than two hundred villages endowed by previous kings.²²

We find that in course of time the Nālandā Mahāvī^{hā}ra had gradually developed into a great seat and centre of learning. Functioning as such for many centuries it acquired a lasting fame and scholars from far countries decided to resort to Nālandā for higher studies. Nālandā Mahāvī^{hā}ra being a seat of higher studies, had a system of specialization. I-tsing wrote " In the Nālandā Monastery, the number of priests is immense and it is difficult to assemble so many (3000) together. There are eight halls, and three hundred apartments in this monastery. The worship can only take place separately, as most convenient to each number. Thus it is customary to send out every day one preceptor to go round from place to place chanting hymn, preceded by monastic lay servants and children bearing incense and flowers. The preceptor goes from hall to hall and in each time he chants the hymns of three or five slokas in a high tone. In addition, there are some who, sitting alone and facing the shrine, praise the Buddha in their

hearts. There are others, who going to the temple, putting their hands on the ground performs the threefold salutation (Takahasu, A record of the Buddhist Religion, pp. 154 - 155).

Tibetan sources and archaeological excavations give some further interesting evidence on the history of Nālandā after I-tsing, especially during period of Pāla emperors.

The Pāla emperors ruled over Eastern India including Magadha (Bihar) for about four hundred years (from the 8th Century A.D. to 12th Century). Almost all of them were ardent patrons of Mahāyāna Buddhism. They established other Mahāvīharas (Universities) at Vikramasīlā, Somapura, Odantapuri and according to Tāranātha, founded by the Pāla Emperor Dharmapāla (Schiefner op. cit. p. 217), Somapura Mahāvī^{hā} founded by Dharmapāla's successor Devapāla (ibid, p. 209), Odantapuri founded by Gopāla or Devapāla (ibid, pp. 204 and 206) and Jagadala Mahāvī^{hā} founded by Ramapāla, which must have created a diversion in the activities of Buddhist scholars. It is even stated by Tāranātha that the head of Vikramasīlā Mahāvīhāra had control over Nālandā (ibid p. 218). Still, there are sufficient epigraphic and literary evidences to show that the Pāla monarchs extended their liberal hands for the well being of the Nālandā Mahāvīhāra.

During the reign Devapāla (815 A.D. - 854 A.D.) Bālaputradeva of Sumatra granted five villages in Magadha for the maintenances of monks and copying manuscripts in the library of that monastery²³. Devapāla appointed a monk Vīradeva, son of Indragupta of Nagarahāra (in North - Western India now

in West Pakistan)as the administrator of Nālandā Mahāvīra²⁴.

An inscription on a Tārā image belonging to the 35th year of Devapāla's reign mentions the name of Mañjuśrīdeva, a monk of Nālandā.²⁵ In the first year of the reign of Gopāladeva II (c. 935 A.D. - 992 A.D.) a statue of Vāgīśvarī, the Buddhist goddess of learning, was installed at Nālandā.²⁶

A Nālandā scholar Kalyāṇamitra Cintāmani copied the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā in the sixth year of Mahipāla I (C.992-1040 A.D.) as a token of respect towards the King.²⁷ Mahipāla I reconstructed the Nālandā Mahāvīra²⁸ which was devastated by fire during his reign. The Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā²⁹ was twice copied at Nālandā during the reign of Rāmpāla.

Though it is not possible to determine the exact date of the complete destruction of Nālandā University, it is quite evident that the downfall of the establishment of Nālandā synchronized with the general decline of Buddhism in India. Huen Tsang witnessed this decaying condition all over India. Though in Eastern India Buddhism and Buddhist establishment under the Pāla rules flourished as educational centre. Huen Tsang's dream about the destruction of Nālandā by fire may be taken as an indication of the pilgrim's ability to foresee the gradual decline of the establishment.³⁰ While Huen Tsang saw ten thousand inmates in Nālandā, Itsing, who came in a few years later, found three thousands only. Uprising of the Brahmanical philosophers like Kumārila and Śaṅkara might have given a shaking blow to the popularity of Buddhism. But the real death-blow came from the Muslim invaders. The Muslim historian Minhaj records how Mohammad Eukhtiar destroyed a city in Western Bihar, which was

found to be a place of learning.³¹ This city might be no other than Nālandā. According to Tārānātha the Muslims did much damage at Nālandā and the monks fled abroad and by setting fire the invaders turned it into complete ruin. Thus the glory of the famous Nālandā University came to the ultimate and as a result of Muslim invasion.³²

On the basis of foreign records such as mainly Chinese and Tibetan, Dr. R. K. Mukherjee, in his Ancient Indian Education (pp. 563 - 581) , has reconstructed a graphic picture of the Nālandā University,

ADMISSION

The condition of admission to Nālandā show that it was run as an institution of higher learning or Post-Graduate studies. The institution was noted for its specialization in the last stages of a University education, for abiding in the solution of doubts, and training in the arts of disputation and Public speaking, ' Hence ', says Huen Tsang (Watters, ii, 165), ' foreign students came to the establishment to put an end to their doubts and then became celebrated '. Some of these, according to I-tsing (ed. Takakusa , p.26), came even from Mongolia . From the life of Huen Tsang (pp. XXVII - XXXVI) We learn that several foreign scholars from distant countries like China, Korea, Tibet, and Tokharā came to India for study at Nālandā, and securing valuable manuscripts of Buddhism, during the short interval of forty years between the visits of Huen Tsang and I-tsing. They also came to achieve fame as scholars I-tsing, like Huen Tsang, also testifies to this fact. " There eminent and accomplished men assemble in crowds, discuss possible and impossible doctrines , and after having been assured of the excellence

of their opinions by wise men, become of far famed for their wisdom" (p. 177). Thus Nālandā was practically a Research Institute for advanced Post-Graduate section of Nālandā, and for advanced and external students. Nālandā also had its Department of Secondary Education for regular internal students for whom the above tests of admission did not apply. It admitted youngsters, the Brahmācāris and Mānavakas freely.

STANDARD OF SCHOLARSHIP :

As the Entrance Examination was such a hard, and thoroughly sifting process, quality of the material to be handled and fashioned by the University was assured. The academic level was very high. Huen Tsang observed that " the students of Nālandā were looked up to as models by all India. They were all ideal Buddhists in the strictness with which they observed the precepts and regulations of their order (Saṅgha)". According to Life of Huen Tsang (p.112) " priests dwelling here are, as a body, naturally or spontaneously dignified and solemn, so that during the 700 years since the foundation of the establishment, there has been no single case of guilty rebellion against the rules." A picture of the inmates' intellectual life of strict standard and high level of efficiency and success, is drawn by Huen Tsang thus. In the establishment were some thousands of brethren, all men of great ability and learning, several hundreds being highly esteemed and famous ; learning and discussing they found the day too short ; day and night they admonished each other, juniors and seniors mutually helping to perfection. If among them were any who did not talk of the mysteries of the Tripitaka, such persons, being ashamed, lived aloof " (ibid). Thus Huen Tsang

indicated the average standard intellectual equipment and learning of Nālandā University students.

NUMBER OF TEACHERS AND STUDENTS :

According to Huen Tsang, out of the total number of 10,000 resident monks at Nālandā, about 1510 belonged to the rank of teachers, 1000 of whom can explain twenty collections of Sūtras and Śāstras ; 500 can explain thirty collections and 10 can explain fifty collections " and the rest 8500 are students were taught under the guidance of above mentioned teachers. The most learned and man of high character Śīlabhadra presided over the entire establishment including 10000 teachers and students. He " alone has studied and understood the whole number (of the collections of the Sūtras and Śāstras) . His eminent virtue and advanced age have caused him to be regarded as the chief member of the community " (Life of Huen Tsang, p. 112). Śīlabhadra who was the highest living authority of Yogasāstra (Life of Huen Tsang, p. 107) was teacher of Huen Tsang.

He was a logician and one of his works is inclined in the Tibetan Tripiṭaka in its Tibetan translation. It is called " Ārya-Buddha-bhūmi vyākhyāna " (Ancient Indian Education P. 576).

Out of the income of the endowments by the kings the University provided for all the inmates free of cost their four requisites of clothes, food, bedding and medicine. The numbers of the alumni in Huen Tsang's time always reached the figure of 10000, counting " the priests belonging to the convent on strangers residing therein " Huen Tsang during his

stay at Nālandā received each day 120 Jambiras ((a fruit), twenty area nuts, twenty nutmegs, an ounce of camphor, and a peck of the finest variety of rice called Mahēsali rice which grew, only in Magadha and nowhere else and was offered only to the King on to which is distinguished religious persons. Besides the apply of these provisions, " every month he was presented with three measures of oil, and daily a supply of butter and other things according to his ³⁵ need. The students being so abundantly supplied " and having not had to worry about their material needs of life, four requisites ". They could give themselves wholeheartedly to their studies and self-cultured. " This is the source of the perfection of their studies to which they have arrived " ³⁶ . There was arrangement of one hundred lectures or discourses per day by so many teachers living in the University of Nālandā, " and students attend these lectures without fail, even for a minute " that is to say a different subjects were daily taught as many different classes of students and that work was going on at the colleges at all hours, except these prescribed for eating and sleep.

SUBJECTS OF STUDY :

Huen Tsang enlighten us about the courses of study offered by Nālandā University which covered a wide range, almost the entire circle of knowledge the available. They were drawn from the different fields of learning, Brahmanical and Buddhist, sacred and secular, philosophical and practical, sciences and arts. According to the life of Huen Tsang, " All the students at Nālandā study the Great Vehicle (Mahāyāna), and also the works belonging to the eighteen sects, the Vedas and other books,

The ~~Hetu~~vidyā, ¹Śāḍavidyā (Philology and terminology), the Cikitsāvidyā, (medical Science), the Atharvavada (the work on magic), the Sāṅkhya and also other subjects ". Huen Tsang himself studied Yogasāstra under Ācārya Śīlabhadra (ibid, »).

His study of the Yogasāstra was followed by that of Nyāya, Hetuvidyā, Śāḍavidyā and the like, as also the books of the Brāhmanas with wide area of knowledge covered by then including philological, legal, philosophical, astronomical subjects, and the Sanskrit Grammar of Pāṇini (ibid, p. 121). " Thus he penetrated and examined completely, all the collections of Buddhist books, and also studied the sacred books of Brāhmanas during five years (ibid p. 125). Thus Nālandā was centre of all higher learning in all its branches. Nālandā for its variegated courses of study not only attracted a keen student of Mahāyāna like Huen Tsang who though ahead a " Master of the Law " and honoured as such in India, yet found it profitable to stay here for time for further intellectual progress, it also attracted keen student of Hīnayāna like I-tsing who stayed ten years at Nālandā for education. Surely, Nālandā University had the merit of collecting at one centre the authoritative books on every subject of learning.

DAILY TIME- TABLE :

Huen Tsang gives us information about the daily time table of Nālandā. The daily duties of the resident, monks at Nālandā " were regulated strictly according to time, which was measured by means of the clepsydra. The day was one of eight hours, each of which was indicated by four immersions of smaller bowl in the larger vessel of water. Each of such immersion was

by one strike of a drum, while the completion of one hour as defined above was announced by four strokes of a drum, two blasts of a conch shell, and an additional beat of the drum. The second hour ends at noon when eating is not allowed. The afternoon, like the forenoon, comprises two hours. The expiry of the first hour at night is announced by beat of the drum by the sub-director or Karmaḍāna himself. Sunrise and sunset are announced by beat of drum at the outside of the gate of the monastery by the servants and porters stationed there " (Life of Huen Tsang, p.145).

Just as there was a time for meals, there was also fixed time for bath. Huen Tsang observed some pools in the grounds of Nālandā. The same observation occurs in the account of I-tsing who describes a bathing there thus : " There are more than great pools near the Nālandā and the very morning a ghanti (gong) is sounded to remind the priests of the bathing hour. Everyone brings a bathing sheet with him. Some times a hundred sometimes a thousand, priests leave the monastery together proceed in all directions towards there pools, where all of them take a bath. There are arrangement for bath in the monastery in accordance with Vinaya rules for these who do not like to go to the pool." ³⁷

Famous Teachers mentioned by Huen Tsang :

So much fame of Nālandā as a centre of learning was mainly due to the fame of its teachers among whom Huen Tsang mentions Dharmapāla (Predecessor of Śīlabhadra) and Candrapāla, who gave a fragrance to Buddha's teachings, Guṇamati and Sthiramāṭi, Prabhamitra, Jinamitra, Jñānacandra, each of whom achieved unparalleled perfection in their respective fields. It

may be noted that Huen Tsang was counted as one of the best products of the Nālandā University by his mastery of Mahāyāna Buddhism. The emperor Harṣa deputed to Orissa the four Mahāyāna teachers, namely, Huen Tsang, Śāgarmati, Prajñānasmi and Siṃhara-smi to subdue the Hīnayāna priests who ridiculed at Harṣa for his abundant gifts to Nālandā (Life of Huen Tsang, p.160). Kum-āra (Bhāskaravarman) sent for Huen Tsang with a letter carried by a special messenger to Śīlabhadra, the then head of Nālandā University (Life of Huen Tsang, pp. 170 - 171). This event is supported by a discovery of a seal of Bhaskarvarman at Nālandā by Dr. D.B.Spooner (Journal of Baroda Oriental Research Society , 1920, p. 131).

Ranking of Monk :

According to Huen Tsang, resident monks of Nālandā University took precedence on the basis of their extensive rather than intensive knowledge. Their rank depended upon the range of their studies rather than upon the depth of their knowledge of a particular subject. It was on this basis that Śīlabhadra was elected to the Chancellor's position in the University. The different grades of the monks carried with them different privileges. Access to the Chancellor or the Chief of the University was not easy. Interviews with him were of the nature of formal and ceremonial functions. When Huen Tsang, already a reputed scholar, came to the entrance for interview with Chancellor, the University sent a deputation of four consisting of its most distinguished Professors to welcome and escort him. At a farmhouse on the way, he halted for short refreshment where a great crowd gathered to greet him, consisting of two hundred priests and some thousand lay patrons. They formed an imposing procession,

carrying standards, umbrellas, flowers and perfumes and thus led pilgrim (Huen Tsang) to the gates of Nālandā. Then a formal meeting was held with the Sthavira in the Chair by which a special seat was given to the distinguished pilgrim. " Whilst the Master of the Law (Huen Tsang) dwells in the convent, all the commodities used by the priests and all the appliances of religion are for his convenience, in common with the rest ". The meeting then selected twenty persons to conduct Huen Tsang to the august presence of the Chancellor when the party arrived, the Chancellor and Huen Tsang exchanged greetings and respects. Huen Tsang said : I am come from the Country of China desiring to learn from your instruction the principles of Yogasāstra (Life of Huen Tsang, p. 107). After this formal introduction Huen Tsang was provided with lodging at the Bāladitya College fixed for a week at the house of the learned and aged scholar Buddhābhaddra, and, later, in an independent dwelling in accordance with his learning and status together with a sufficient supply of all provisions.

Academic Titles :

" The ranking of monks led to the institution of academic titles indicative of the different degrees of status, standing, and grade to which they belonged, The highest title was Mahapati for the head of an institution numbering ten thousand students. That next title of distinction was Paṇḍita. At the University of Vikramaśīlā (A.D. 800), it is indicated a degree conferred on a successful graduate. But at Nālandā it was reserved only for the Head of the whole Vihāra (Tārānātha, ibid, p. 161 ; Vidyabhushan S.C., Mediaeval Indian logic, p. 79).

Besides these privileges, the rooms of the monks were distributed according to their ranks. Before the Varṣā season or the rains set in, rooms are assigned to each member ; to the Sthaviras both rooms are given and thus gradually to the lowest. In Nālandā such rules are practised at present (ibid, p.86).

Library :

Nālandā Mahāvīra^{hō} possessed a very large library. The University was so large University authorities could feel that a Mahāvihāra without " a library was like a castle without an armoury " (Altekar, A.S.Education in Ancient India, p.121). " So elaborate scheme was adopted for a well - planned and splendid library within the Monastery to meet the varied demands of numerous teachers and students who were engaged in the study of different branches of learning (Diwakar, R.R.ed. Bihar through the ages, p.292, Archaeological survey of India, New Imperial series, Vol.pp. 67 - 96). Huen Tsang found that the works belonging to the eighteen sects and other books, such as, the Vedas, the Hetuvidyā, Śāḍavidyā^b, the Cikitsāvidyā, the works on Magic(Atharvavidyā), the Sāṅkhya and Nyāya : and ' miscellaneous' works were studied there. He also noticed that at this Monastery there were one thousand men who could explain twenty collections of sūtras and śāstras, five hundred who could explain thirty collections, and perhaps ten men, including the Master of the Law, who could explain fifty collections. Śīlabhadra alone had studied and understood the whole number (Beal S. The Life of Huen Tsang , P. 112).

I-tsing, the Chinese Scholar, who stayed for his studies at Nālandā for the long period of ten years

(A.C.675 - 685), got copied there four hundred Sanskrit works amounting to five laks verses. This referred to the fact that the Monastery possessed a very rich collection- both Buddhistic and non - Buddhistic works which were either distributed or sold away. According to his observation when a Buddhist monk expired at Nālandā, his collection of books was added to the Library and other properties including non-Buddhistic works were disposed of. This information showed how gradually through peaceful acquisition of dead one's valuable collections the Nālandā Monastic Library ultimately became a grand store-house of priceless manuscripts. (Indian Librarian Vol. 9, September 1954, p.54).

I-tsing observed eight big reading halls at the Nālandā Monastery. After him Tohe-hong and Hoei-Ye, the two Korean monks, and another Chinese Bhikkhu named Ke-Ye came to Nālandā Monastery to study by utilising its libraries which were rich containers of the Buddhist as well as non-Buddhist texts. In the sixth year of Mahipāla I the Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā was copied at Nālandā by one Kalyāṇmitra. In the fourth year of Rāmapāla's reign and in the fourth year of Govindapala the same was again copied there. All the possible evidences showed that the Pālas exercised control over the Monastery of Nālandā, the Oxford of Buddhist India, upto their last days. A copper-plate discovered during the excavation of the ruins of this Monastery mentioned the grant in the time of Devapāla, the Pāla king of Bengal, of some villages for the writing of the Dharmaratana or religious books besides other texts, it was found that regular copyists were employed in the Monastery for copying books. The expenses were borne out by those who required the copies, Besides these professional

copyists there were other devout souls who made the copying of the sacred works as a part of their duty. The students also must have made their own copies. The magnitude of the Nalanda Library implied that there were many well versed teachers in charge of this Library and their office must have involved considerable responsibility and task. Several thousands of monks lived in this monastery, and the copying activity of all then must have made numerous and very frequent additions to the Library. One could find at Nālandā that in several monk cells, an adjacent cell too small to live in was occasionally provided. Perhaps it was intended for the safe keeping of Manuscripts borrowed for private study. An examination of the clay sealings found at Nālandā from time to time had elicited the fact that many of the secular sealings fixed to palm leaf strips used like tapes, of which impressions were left on their back. It was clear that the documents were impressed with seals on Clay, which were sometimes partially exposed to fire, besides many of the monastic cells met their destruction by fire. This explained why the collection at Nālandā included sealings well-burnt (Over-burnt in many cases), half burnt or unburnt. Detailed particulars about the library of the Nālandā Monastery may be gathered from the Tibetan sources. The Library was situated in a special area known as the Dharmaganja (Most of religion) which comprised three monumental edifices, called Ratnasāgara (Ocean of Jewels), Ratnadadhi (Sea of Jewels) and Ratnarañjaka (Jewel-adorned), of which Ratnasāgara that was a nine-storeyed building, was specialised in the collection of rare and sacred works like Prajñāpāramitāsūtra and Tāntrika books like Samājaguhya and others. There were epigraphic records

which showed definitely that financial arrangements were made for the preservation of the rich collections of the Nālandā Library. As already stated an inscription related that the celebrated king of Java and Sumatra, Bālaputradeva by name, had a monastery built at Nālandā, and also requested his friend, king Devapāla of Bengal, to make a grant of five villages for the maintenance of this newly built monastery and towards the expenditure of adding to its Library manuscript copied for the purpose ('Dharma-ratnasya Lekhanārtham) . The Si-Yu-Ki of Huen Tsang described more elaborately the nature of collection in the Nālandā Monastery which paid greater attention to the Philosophical and religious writings. In the account of the Chinese Pilgrims we find that Manuscripts were arranged on stone shelves dug out on the walls and the shelf-guides for the manuscripts were inscribed on stones. The palm - leaf manuscripts were preserved for a long time and saved from dust and fire. The teachers were chiefs of the different sections of this renowned Library of Nālandā. Usually, the teacher who used to teach a particular subject was the head of that particular subject collection of the Library and guided his students conventionally. But it is sad to note that this celebrated Library which grew up step by step and which followed accurately the Fifth of law of Library Science, viz., ' Library is a growing organism ', as propounded by Dr. S.R. Ranganathan, could not survive long. Curiously enough, there was no mention of the Library buildings in the Chinese records, Tibetan legends supplemented to some extent the Chinese accounts. It was in these legends that mention was found of Nālandā's great library buildings. A legend occurred in Tibetan history. These libraries, as was reported, perished in flames kindled by an incendiary. But the date

when the event happened was unknown. The Tibetan text Pagsam-Jon-Zang presented a vivid account of the destruction of the Library thus ; " After the Turaska raiders had made incursions. In Nālandā, the temples and Chaityas there were repaired by a sage named Mudita Bhadra. Soon after this, Kukūṭasiddha, Minister to the reigning King of Magadha, erected a temple at Nālandā. At its inauguration ceremony two heetic beggars (Mendicants) came. Some naughty sramaneras threw dirty water on them, pressed them between two doors (and caused them other troubles), at which they became angry. One of them helped the other who entered a deep hole and in twelve years propitiated the Sun-god, After performing a Yajña, they threw ashes in eighty-four Buddhist temples and all were on fire, especially Dharmagāṇḍya of Nālandā and the three great temples containing the scriptures. When all of them were ablaze, streams of water, gushed forth (i.e. Miraculously) from the Guhyasamāja (Manuscript of a Tantric work) and the Prajñāpāramitā (Manuscript of the great Mahāyānist Sūtra) from the ninth storey of the Ratnadadhi temple and many Pūthas (Manuscripts) were saved. Afterwards the two heretics out of fear of the King tried to run away to Hasam (?) in the north, But they perished in the fire which they themselves had kindled. Leaving aside the later legendary portion we find that the great library of Nālandā was completely destroyed.

HISTORY AFTER I-TSING :

Tibetan sources give some further interesting evidence on the history of Nālandā after I-tsing .It appears that the Tibetan king, strong-tsan-Gampo (A.D. 630), anxious to introduce to his country Indian writing and learning, sent to

his Minister, Thon-mi, with a large quantity of gold to be given away as presents to the Indian Scholars.

Thon-mi first approached the famous Brāhmaṇa Sanskritist, Lipidatta by name, and having learnt Sanskrit and the scripts under him, went to the Nālandā University, and there placed himself under the tuition of the teacher named Ācārya Devavid Śimha, who imparted to him instruction in both, Brahmanic and Buddhist sacred literature. It is said that Hien Tsang came to Nālandā just at the time when the Tibetan student was staying there. The next notice of Nālandā that we get in connexion with the Tibetan King Thi-Srong-den-stan (A.D. 743 - 789) who invited to Tibet the two Indian sages Padma Sambhava, a native of Uḍḍiyāna, and Śānta Raksita, a native of Gaur, who was then the Chancellor of the Nālandā University. In Tibet the two Indian Scholars became involved in a religious controversy with a great Chinese Scholar and being unable to defeat him, induced the King to send for the famous Professor of Tantras at Nālandā named Kamalaśīla in A.D. 750. Kamalaśīla, in the presence of the assembled Court, vanquished his opponent who was then asked by the King to leave Tibet.

That the fame of Nālandā continued unabated and even travelled beyond the borders of India is evident from the Inscription of Yaśovarman of the eighth century A.D. at ready cited, extolling the learning of its scholars and also from another inscription recording how a king of Java and Sumatra, Balaputradeva by name, had a monastery built at Nālandā, and also induced his friend, King Devapala of Bengal, to make a grant of five villages towards the maintenance of this new monastery and expenses of adding to its Library MSS, copied for the purpose.

NALANDA SCHOLARS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES :

The success of Nālandā as a seat of learning is singularly demonstrated by the demand of foreign countries for the services of its trained scholars in introducing to them the saving knowledge and wisdom of India, which they were so keenly seeking.

The outstanding characters in this fruitful cultural intercourse were Fa-Hien, Hiuen Tsang and I-tsing, but there were hosts of other pilgrims to India whose names and achievement are not known to us. Several pilgrims who had followed Hiuen Tsang and preceded I-tsing during the short interval of only forty years. They were Thonmi, Huen Chiu, Taouhi, Hwui Lu, Tang Taou-sing, Aryavarman, Buddhadharma, all of whom sought Indian Wisdom as students of Nalanda as its chief centre and repository. In the same (seventh) century, we have also to record the visits of the Chinese monks, Ou-Kong and Ki-Ye, to Nalanda.

NĀLANDĀ LITERATURE AND SCHOLARS IN TIBET

It is, however, to be understood that this cultural intercourse between these Asiatic countries and India was not one-sided, India was equally zealous in spreading abroad the Message of her Truths, In this extension of her culture to foreign countries, the students of Nālandā took the lead , Nalanda deputed her own students to propagate Buddhism in Tibet and China, Nālandā had already equipped herself for this task by organising at the University a School of Tibetan studies. Its scholars, learning Tibetan select Buddhist works from Sanskrit. They created the literature which converted Tibet to a new religion.

These books have survived their mortal outhors and are immortal creations carrying on their beneficent work to this day on the source of spiritual nourishment of an entire people.

We shall now briefly refer to some of these works which had effected a religious revolution in Tibet only to demonstrate and properly appraise the magnitude and value of Nālandā's achievements as a seat of learning.

WORKS OF ĀRYA DEVA :

We have already seen that Ārya Deva was one of the earliest scholars of Nālandā who had lived in about the fourth century A.D. He was the author of three works, all of which are introduced to Tibet in its own language. His last work, known as Mādhyamaka - braṃaghatanāma, was actually written by him at Nālandā, it is said, at the request of ~~Hasambuhi-~~glin-gi-rgyal-po (JambudvīpaRāja was translated into Tibetan by Upādhyāya Dīpaṅkara Śrī Jhāna (who was born in A.D.980).

ŚILABHADRA

The next Nālandā scholar was Śilabhadra, who was the President of Nālandā at the time of Hiuen Tsang's visit and the teacher of Hiuen Tsang, as we have seen. Silabhadra was a logician and one of his works is included in the Tibetan translation. It is called "Ārya- Buddha-Bhūmi-Vyākhyāna".

DHARMAPĀLA :

The next scholar was Dharmapala who, by the time of Hiuen Tsang's visit had retired from the Presidentship of Nālandā in favour of Śilabhadra. He wrote in Sanskrit a grammatical commentary called. " Varna-Sūtra-Vṛtti-nāma ".

On the original Grammar of Mahācārya Chandragomin. He wrote four Buddhistic works in Sanskrit which are all translated into Tibetan. They are called (1) Ālambana-Pratyaya-dhyānasās-trayākhyā, (2) Vidyāmātra-siddhi-śāstra-vyākhyā, (3) Śatasāstra-Vaipulya-vyākhyā. (4) Vallī-tattva-saṃgraha.

CHANDRAGOMIN :

The great Scholar, Chandragomin, was also one of the best products of Nālandā who had made an important contribution to its reputation. He is the author of as many as sixty books in Sanskrit on Buddhism, which have been translated into Tibetan. He was a Bengali, born in Varendra, and studied first under Buddhist teachers, Sthirmati and Aśoka. He travelled to the South when he wrote a commentary on Pāṇini. Chandrakīrti of Nālandā also wrote a commentary on Pāṇini. It was Chandrakīrti who introduced Chandragomin to Nālandā, for whom he organized a great reception by a procession of three chariots. According to Taranātha, Chandragomin lived in the eighth century, being the contemporary of Harṣa's son Śīla.

SANTARAKṢITA AS A MISSIONARY IN TIBET :

A reference has already been made to the great Nālandā Professor Śāntarakṣita, who was the pioneer in the propagation of Buddhism to Tibet in the eighth century. When he visited Tibet at the invitation of its King, his ministers escorted him with an army to his place. At his instance, the King constructed the first Buddhist Monastery in Tibet in A.D. 749 on the Model of the famous Odantapuri Vihāra of Magadhā, and appointed him as its first Abbot. He worked in this office for thirteen years and died in A.D. 762. He is the author of two books : (1) Vādanyāyavṛtti-Vipañītārtha and (2) Tattva-Saṃgraha.

PADMASAMBHAVA :

We have already mentioned the other Professor of Nālandā, Padmasambhava, who was also requisitioned by the king of Tibet for preaching Buddhism. He came from Nālandā to Tibet in A.D. 747 and introduced the Tāntrika element in Tibetan Buddhism. He was one of the prominent exponents of the Yogacara school of Tāntrika Cult. He is the author of "Samaya Pañcasikā", which was translated into Tibetan.

KAMALASĪLA :

Kamalaśīla was another Professor of Nālandā who was brought to Tibet by its king to work with Śāntarakṣita and Padmasambhava. These Buddhist scholars were able to expel from Tibet a Chinese Monk by defeating him in argument and leave the way open for a complete Indianization of Tibet.

STHIRAMATI :

Sthiramati is the next scholar of Nālandā who is known for his work in Tibet, for which he was specially fitted his Mastery of the Tibetan language, along with Sanskrit. He straightway translated many Sanskrit works and select Buddhist doctrines, into Tibetan. He also introduced into Tibet many works on Sanskrit Grammar in which he was a specialist, he particularly studied the Kalpa system of Sanskrit Grammar. At Nālandā his place of residence was the temple of Tārābhadrīkā, a school of scientific study of those days.

BUDDHAKIRTI :

Nālandā supplied Tibet with another scholar named Buddhakīrti, who was proficient in Tibetan and Tantrika Buddhism. He was originally a colleague of Mahāpandita Abhayakara-gupta of Vikramasīlā Vihāra.

FIVE MINOR SCHOLARS :

Five other scholars of Nālandā are mentioned as working in Tibet in the catalogue of Tibetan Tripiṭaka. Their names are Kumāra Śrī, who composed a Buddhistic work in Sanskrit, another namesake of Kumāra Śrī, Karṇapati, who translated into Tibetan at Nālandā the important work called "Mahāyāna Lakṣaṇa Samuccaya "; Karṇa Śrī and Śūryadhvaja, who worked together and translated two important Sanskrit works into Tibetan at Nālandā, and Sumati sena, who lived long at Nālandā and wrote in Sanskrit a book called "Karmasiddhatika ".

NĀLANDĀ SCHOLARS WORKING AS MISSIONARIES IN CHINA :

The pioneers among Indian scholars working as Missionaries in foreign countries were Kumārajīva, Guṇavarman, or Paramārtha, the translator of the life of Vasubandhu, all belonging to the fifth century A.D. They were followed by many scholars who proceeded to China from Central India, many of whom were scholars of Nālandā. We read of a Pandit of Nālandā named Subhakarasiṃha settling down in China in the beginning of eighth century A.D. Four of his works were translated from Sanskrit to Chinese, cultural intercourse between China and India was

interrupted for some time by political conditions. But it revived in the tenth century when we find the Nālandā scholar Dharmadeva taking up work in China as a member of the Imperial Bureau of Translators of Buddhist texts into Chinese under the Song Dynasty (A.D. 960-1127). Upto to A.D. 981 Dharmadeva translated forty-six works into Chinese, which were many Tantras and Dhāraṇīs. (e.g. Vasudhara - Dhāraṇī, Buddha-hṛdaya - Dhāraṇī, etc. In the period of nineteen years, from A.D. 981, he translated another Seventy-two works. He also translated into Chinese the popular Mahāyāna work, Sukhavatīvyūha.

Lastly, we have to record the name of Pou-to-ki-to, who is described in China as ' Śramaṇa of the temple of Nālandā of Central India'. He gave the Emperor a present of some relics of the Buddha ^{and} Sanskrit Texts. Of the many Indian Scholars who had gone to China from Central India, it may be assumed that many had their education completed at Nālandā as the only centre of highest learning in India in those days.

FOREIGN SCHOLARS AT NĀLANDĀ :

We may now refer briefly to the movement of scholars of foreign countries to Nālandā in search of the learning of which it was then known as the only and most important centre in Asia. We have already related how this movement began with Fa-Hien and went on expanding under the stimulating successes attending the Missions of Huen Tsang and I-tsing. We have also seen that Fa-Hien did not visit alone but with a company of scholars whom he names as Hwuy-king, Tao-Ching, Hwuy-Ying, and Hwuy-we, while on his travels in India, he met " a Tartar who

was an earnest follower of the law," and on the same mission as his, and then another band of five pilgrims in pursuit of the same religious purpose. Again, we learn from I-tsing that, after Hiuen Tsang's visit, and before his, in the interval of about forty years, as many as fifty-six scholars visited India from such foreign countries as China, Japan and Korea, most of whom came to Nālandā for study. Some of them also came by the Sea-route via Khoten, Tibet and Nepal, undaunted, by the difficulties of that route. A brief account may be given of these earnest foreign seekers after India's learning.

HUAN CHAO :

The Shaman Huan Chao came to India through Tibet. He first stayed at Jalandhara where he studied Sanskrit, the Buddhist sūtras, and the Vinaya, and then proceeded for higher study to Nālandā, where he stayed for three years. Here he also saw : another fellow-Chinese student named Shin-Kwong and a scholar from Ceylon who gave him a copy of the Yoga and other sacred works. In A.D. 664 he again came to India and was seen by I-tsing at Nālandā.

TAO HI :

Tao Hi was another scholar who came to Nālandā and studied Mahāyāna. He had a Sanskrit name, Śrīdeva. He made a gift to his Alma Mater of 400 Chinese Students and Śāstras. I-tsing could not meet him but was shown the chamber in which he was living there.

ARYVARMA FROM KOREA :

In A.D.638, a Korean Scholar, Āryavarma by name, left Cangan and came to Nālandā where he studied the Vinaya and Abhidhamma and copied many sutras. Unfortunately, he died at Nalanda at the age of 70.

KOREAN HWUI YIEH :

The same year saw the visit to Nālandā of another Korean, Hwui Yieh, a Doctor of Law, who stayed here for a long time and died at 60. like the other Korean I-tsing , while handling some Chinese books at Nālandā, came across the following line :

" The Korean priest HwYieh wrote this record." " Yieh wrote some Sanskrit works which were preserved at Nālandā.

A TUKHARA STUDENT :

I-tsing also saw at Nālandā a scholar from the Tukhāra Country, known for his bodily size and strength and called Bodhidharma.

TAO- SHING :

Tao-Shing, with his sanskrit name Chandradeva, came to India in A.D.649, and to Nalanda, where his youth was admired by the King.

TANG :

Tang, a Mahāyāna monk, came to India by way of the sea, stayed at Tamralipti to master sanskrit, and then

admitted himself to Nālandā.

TAO LIN :

Similarly, Tao-Lin (Silaprabha), travelling by the same route, came to Nālandā where he studied Kosa.

HWUI- TA :

Hwui-Ta, a monk of Kunchow, took the sea-route to India and stayed at Nālandā for ten years.

WOU KING :

Another monk, Wou King, studied Yoga, Kośa, and other works at Nālandā for ten years.

These names are known to us only because they are mentioned by I-tsing. We can imagine how many unnamed scholars, unknown to fame, were studying as silent students of Buddhist scriptures at Nālandā.

SCHOLARS FROM DIFFERENT PARTS OF INDIA AT NĀLANDĀ :

We have already referred to the tradition connecting the great scholars, Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva, with Nālandā. Rāhulabhadra when king candra erected fourteen gragrant Halls and fourteen incomparable religious school " (Vidyabhushana, Medieval Indian Logic p.146). It may also be assumed that the great Masters, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, were also associated with Nalanda, as they lived in the latter part of the fifth century A.D., when Nalanda was already growing up as a centre of education. Taranātha says that " Asaṅga lived in the period of his

later life for twelve years at Nālandā. The early part of his life was spent at Peshawar and Ayodhya (Takakusu , JRAS, ibid, pp.35-44), Dinnaga was the next famous scholar of Nālandā, who hailed from the South, as a native of Kāñci. According to a legend, he was living in a cave when he was sent for by the Panditas of Nālandā to defeat in argument the invincible Brāhmaṇa Sudurjaya.

The scholars, Guṇamati and Sthiramati, from Valabhai, the founders of its Monastery, are connected with Nālandā as its teachers by Huen Tsang. Their date is uncertain. But it may be sixth century A.D. The Valabhi Grant of Dharasena - I (Ind. Anti. vi 12) refers to Sthiramati as builder of a Vihāra at Valabhi and is dated Samvat 269-A.D. 558, if it is Gupta Samvat. The grant is in honour of " the Vihāra built by Sthiramati ", showing that it was somewhat later than the building. He should also come after the date of Vasubandhu as his disciple. So, he should have lived about the sixth century.

Dharmapāla also hailed from the south and was a native of Kāñcīpura, Padmasambhava was a native of the North-Western Frontiers, the country about Ghazni (Waddell, Lamaism, p.26).

Even Śīlabhadra was not a native of Nālandā or Magadha but of Samatāṭa, the son of its king, and a Brāhmaṇ by caste, He renounced the World and became a student at Nālandā where his powers of debate were so much appreciated by the king of Magadha that he offered to present him with a village. This gift he did not accept in the true spirit of a monk (Watters, ii, 109 -110).

We may last mention Viradeva who was a native of Nagrhara near Jalalabad.

Thus most of these scholars who were natives of different and distant part of India flocked to Nālandā to complete their studies and build up its reputation as a seat of learning by their own contributions to knowledge.

UNIVERSITY OF VIKRAMASĪLĀ:

The Buddhist University of Vikramasīlā (Vikramasīlā) or Vikramasīlā Mahāvihāra was founded by the Pala King Dharmapāla³⁸ (A.D. 770 - 810). In origin, it was the later contemporary of Nālandā Mahāvihāra and became famous for its learning during the waning periods of Nālandā. According to life of Atīśa translated by Sarat Chandra Das, a Tibetan Source, the Monastery was named Vikramasīlā because of the ' high moral character of its monks³⁹ '. But R.C.Majumdar said " The reference to the Vihara as Śrīmad - Vikramasīlā-deva-Mahāvihāra shows that Vikramasīlā was another name of Dharmapāla (or Dava-pāla) who founded it.⁴⁰ This fact is corroborated by the following passage of the Ramcarita of Sandhyākar Nandī. ' Yuvarāja Haravarsha belonged to the Pala family of Bengal. It has been suggested that Vikramasīlā, the father of Yuvarāja, was another

name Dharmapāla, who established the Vikramasīlā Mahāvihāra and Haravarṣha is identical with Devapala⁴¹. Similar is the case of Oḍḍamaṇi-Vihāra of Southern India, which was named after the founder-patron the Sailendra King Oḍḍamaṇivarman⁴². In the Tibetan source it was found that 'because of its being the site where Yakṣa of the name of Vikrama was suppressed as it was, it was called the Vikramasīlā⁴³'. According to Tibetan historian Lāma Tārānātha, who, regarding origin and site of the Monastery said that King Dharmapāla "built about fifty Buddhist centres in all, among which thirty five were centres for the study of Prajñāpāramitā, Śrī Vikramasīlā Vihāra was built on the bank of the Gaṅgā in the north of Magadha on top of a hill. At its centre was built a shrine with a life-size image of Mahābodhi. Around this were built fifty three small shrines for the study of Guhyatantra and another fifty four common temples. Thus the number of temples was one hundred and eight and also the outer wall. He (Dharmapāla) provided for the livelihood of one hundred and eight Paṇḍitas⁴⁴. Sumpa also gives similar statement. On the north of Magadha, on the bank of the Gaṅgā and top of a hill was built by Dharmapāla, the Vikramasīlā Vihāra, which had one hundred and seven shrines around Central Hall and an outer wall. It was supported for the livelihood of one hundred and eight Paṇḍitas. At that time Prajñāpāramitā and Samāja were widely spread⁴⁵.

Both Tārānātha and Sum-pa agree in respect of the site of Vikramasīlā Mahāvīra⁴⁶, the single name of the Monasteries constructed with royal benefactions of Dharmapāla. The biographer of Ācārya Atīśa Dipaṅkar Śrījñāna also depending on the same tradition said : Ācārya Kampa, a learned Professor

of the School of Buddhist Tantras of Śrī Nālandā, who had obtained the Siddhi or perfection in the ' mahāmudrā mysticism, was once struck with the features of a bluff rocky hillock which stood on the bank of Ganges. Observing its peculiar fitness for the site of a Vihāra he remarked that under royal auspices it could be turned into a great place for the use of the Saṅgha. By dint of fore-knowledge he also knew that one time there on that hill a great Vihāra would be built. It is born as Dharmapāla, the renowned king of Magadha. He built the monastery of Vikramaśilā on the hill The King furnished the Vihāras with four establishments, each consisting of twenty-seven monks belonging to the four principal sects of the Buddhists.⁴⁶

Scholars differ in opinion regarding location of the Vikramaśilā Maṇāvira^{hā}. Cunningham identified it with the modern village Silao, about three miles from Baragaon near ancient Nālandā and six miles to the north of Rajgir, the capital of Ancient Magadha in the subdivision of Bihar in the district of Patna.⁴⁷ Dr. S. C. Vidyabhushana identifies it with modern Sultanganj in Bhagalpur district.⁴⁸ S. C. Das also located Vikramaśilā in Sultanganj. He writes, " Just as the Brāhmanas, had their city on the holy land of the Uttara Vāhini Gāṅgā, the Buddhist whose veneration of the sacred stream was no less than that of their adversaries, the Brāhmanas, had built Vikramaśilā on a rival spot situated on the northern reach of the Ganges. These circumstances, and the accounts of its being originally built on the rocky hill on the right bank of the Ganges, and the similarity of the names Vaishakaraṇa with the name Vikrama might tempt one to risk the identification of the Vikramaśilā with Vaishakaraṇa site of Modern Sultanganj near Bhagalpur.⁴⁹

On the other hand Nundalal De holds the opinions that " a day's sail below Sultanganj is situated a projecting steep hill called, Patharghata, which spur of the Coloong range, it is about six miles to the north of Coloong, twenty four miles to the east of Bhagalpur and twenty eight miles to the east of Champā, the ancient Chāmpā, the capital of Aṅga. There can be no reasonable doubt that Patharghata near Collong in the district of Bhagalpur was the ancient Vikramasīlā and that of the ruins upon it area the remains of the celebrated monastery which existed for about four centuries from the middle of the eighth century to the later and the twelfth century A.D.⁵⁰

J.N. Samaddar also held such a view and thought that it was " best identification " of the site of Vikramasīlā⁵¹ while Dr. A.R. Banerji Sastri of Patna College takes it to be Keur, near Hulsaganj ' in direct line with Nālandā (Within a distance of 15 miles) and Odantapuri.⁵²

From the Tibetan source we come to know about the glorious heritage of Vikramasīlā Monastery during flourishing period and also the regular intercourse between Vikramasīlā and Tibetan Buddhist Monasteries.⁵³ Vikramasīlā Mahāvīra^{hā} was gradually transformed into a monastic University.

UNIVERSITY BUILDING AND STAFF

King Dharmapāla had the Vihāra constructed after good design. The Mahāvīra^{hā} was surrounded by a strong wall. At the centre was erected the temple adorned with Mahābodhi images, outside the surrounding wall were 107 temples while within

the enclosure were fifty institutions (samasthās) with 108 teachers (Panditas) and other staff comprising " an Ācārya for wood-offering, an Ācārya for Ordination of novices, another for fire-offering, a Superintendent of works, a guard of pigeons, and a supplier of Temple servants. It is stated that the cost of maintaining each of these 114 members of the staff was equal to that of four men.⁵⁴ The University is said to have six colleagues each with a staff of the standard strength of 108 teachers, and a central Hall called House of Science with its six gates opening on the six Colleges. It is also stated that the outer wall surrounding the whole monastery was decorated with artistic work, a portrait in painting of Nāgārjuna adorning the right of the principal entrance and that Atīśa Śrījñāna Dīpaṅkara. On the Walls of the University were also painted portions of the teachers (Panditas) who earned fame for learning and character.⁵⁵ But according to biography of Atīśa there were erected two brilliant statues of Nāgārjuna, and Dīpaṅkara in the Vikram^aśilā Mahāvīra^{hā}. These statues which were thought to be built by the students during the lifetime of Dīpaṅkara were installed on two sides of the entrance of the Vihāra.⁵⁶

ADMINISTRATION, SUBJECTS OF STUDY AND LIBRARY

The teaching of the University of Vikramāśilā was controlled by a board of eminent teachers headed by a President who was always the most learned and religious sage. At the time of its founder, Dharmapāla, Buddha-jñapāda was the President who was entitled Vajrācārya, the names of other consecutive principals (Vajrācāryas were Dīpaṅkara Bhadra, Laṅkājayabhadra,

Śrīdhara, Bhavabhadra, Bhavyakīrti, Līlārāja, Durjayacandra, Kṛṣṇasamayavajra, Thathāgataraksita, Bodhibhadra, Kamalaraksita-(Haraprasāda Śāstri Rachanā Samgraha, III p.88)

During A.D.1034-8. Dīpaṅkara or Śrījñāna Atīśa was the head under whom Sthavira Ratnākara acted as the superior of the monastery.⁵⁷ R.K.Mookerji says ' It is stated that at the Board of Vikramśilā also administered the affairs of Nālandā. This kind of Vikramśilā also administered the affairs of Nālandā. This kind of Co-ordination of work and management between the two Universities perhaps due to kind Dharamapāla being their common head. Accordingly we find teachers like Dipankara and Abhayākara Gupta working at both the Universities or exchange of teachers between them.⁵⁸

The University of Vikramśilā came into existence and flourished during days of Tantrik Buddhism especially Vajrayāna when sciences and Magic had become favourite subjects of study. So Vikramśilā University also became a great centre of cultivation of Tantric Buddhism^h their instruction were also given in its different branches such as Logic and Grammar.⁵⁹ Vikramśilā University possessed a good library having a rich collection of Manuscripts of books. It contained many rare works on Tantric Grammar, Metaphysics and Logic for teaching of which this University became so famous.⁶⁰ Here also the teachers and the students engaged themselves with the task of copying manuscripts. One of them copied during the time of the King Gopāla-II is now to be found in the British Museum.⁶¹ The academic Council of the University was in charge of the libraries which in addition to storing books,

undertook also the work of copying Manuscripts.⁶² " It was the library which took steps to renew the worn out and damaged Manuscripts and made liberal provision for meeting the constant demand of the outside Public, particularly of Tibet, for copies of books in its possession. The Tanjūr and the Kanjur hold a good evidence of the bulk of Tibetan transactions of Sanskrit works prepared at Vikramasīlā not only by Tibetans but by Indian Scholars as well. They may be traced in the catalogues.⁶³ Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna himself translated many books of his own into Tibetan with the help of a learned Monk named Vīryasiṃha.⁶⁴ The copying work was to some extent done by the monk teachers and the students, but the clerks also had to be employed by the management to cope with the increased demand. Taranatha referred to six gates of Vikramasīlā University, each of which was guarded by a distinguished and most erudite scholar called Dvāra Pandita i.e. Gate Keeper,⁶⁵ so that admission to the University might not be cheap and its standard of scholarship lowered. These six Dvāra Panditas served the University during the reign of Candrabodhi (A.D. 955-83) who, according to Taranatha, was " not counted among the 'seven Pālas' because he was not of the Pāla family. "

The name of six Dvāra panditas or custodians of scholarship are as follows :-

1. Ratnākaraśānti of the Eastern Gate.
2. Vāgīśvarakīrti, who hailed from Benaras of the Western Gate.
3. Naropa of the Northern Gate.
4. Projñākaramati of the Southern Gate.
5. Ratnavajra of the First Central Gate.
6. Jñanaśrīmītra of Gauda of Second Central Gate.

These Dvāra - panditas were all eminent scholar and erudite logicians whose works are extant in the Tibetan Tanjur and Kanjur. So, it was not easy for an outsider or learner to enter into the University without permission of the Gate-Keeper who asked question and tested the entrant's erudition and intelligence and being satisfied then allowed to enter.

From the Tibetan sources we know that at the establishment of Vikramasīlā⁶⁶ was grand and extensive. We see that during reign of King Rāmapāla Ācārya Abhayākaragupta was the head of Vikramasīlā⁶⁷ University which then accommodated 160 Professors (acaryas) and 1000 resident monks. " But according to Nag-tsha the number of Monks dwindled to about a hundred, probably at the period of Muslim raids in this part of the Country. " Dīpaṅkara Śrījāna⁶⁸ joined the Vikramasīlā Mahaviṛa^{hā} as principal ācārya during the reign of King Mahīpāla. Under his supervision the University prospered much, more accommodation for the increasing number of monks was provided and new subjects were introduced for study and teaching under his guidance and he adopted a new method of teaching. Sum-pa stated. " When Bhayapāla reigned for thirty two years, the six gate-keepers (dvārapālas) passed away. After them, Jo-bo-rje Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna⁶⁹ was Upādhyāya of Vikramasīlā. He also nourished Odantapuri. Tārānātha also stated, " After that king Bheyapala And during the reign of this King, after six Gate-keepers Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna , famed as Śrī Atīśa was invited as the Upādhyāya of Vikramasīlā. By him was also nourished Odantapuri. "

Vikramasīlā University till the end of the thirteenth century. " It is thought that the invaders

headed by Bukhtiyar Khilji at the time of Muhammad Ghorī destroyed the Monastery thinking to be a fortress by mistake⁷¹. During this raid all the resident scholars and teachers, save few who could manage to leave, were slain and all the library books, except those which could be carried off by the few that escaped, were burnt. Thus was destroyed miserably the grand store house of costly manuscripts of Vikramasīlā⁷². It has been rightly said "If Nālandā fulfilled the dictum of Newman that a University is place of learning implying assemblage from various spot in one spot, the royal University of Vikramasīlā⁷³ satisfied the dictum of Carlyle that true University is a collection of books." Dharmasvāmi, the Tibetan Lama, who visited Nālandā in the thirteenth century, had left for us a valuable account of the last days of the Vikramasīlā University. Vikramasīlā was still existing in the time of the visit of Dharmasvāmi (A.C. - 1153 - 1216) and of the Kāshmiri Paṇḍita Śākya Śrībhadra (A.C. 1125 - 1225), but when Dharmasvāmi visited the country there was no traces of it left; the Turaska soldiery, having razed it to the ground, had thrown the foundations into the Gāṅgā⁷⁴. " Thus it is obvious that even during period Saky Śrībhadra's visit to Magadha, the Vikramasīlā monastery had not been totally destroyed ; it was wholly effected by 1235⁷⁵. "

Regarding the Indian and Tibetan scholars working in Vikramasīlā and Tibet, Dr. R.K. Mukherji says, ' Indeed the success of the work of Vikramasīlā⁷⁶ as a seat of learning is amply demonstrated by the quality and quantity of its output, the prodigies of piety and learning it produced, and the profound contributions they made to knowledge and religion by their numerous writings which practically built up culture and

civilization of another country. Tibet has gratefully treasured up the memories of some of these graduates of Vikramasīlā, a few of whom it has canonized as its patron-saints. We shall now trace the history of Vikram^aasīlā in the Tibetan accounts of some of its famous scholars and teachers.⁷⁶

Vikramasīlā scholars working in Tibet
and writing in Tibetan:

1. Ācārya Buddha Janāpāda, the pupil of the Guru Simhabhadra after whom was appointed the royal priest of King Dharmapāla of Bengal the founder chancellor of Vikram^aasīlā Mahāvī^hrā, who later on appointed him as the Principal (adhyak^sā) and Ācārya for Ordination in this University. There he developed his study of Mantra Vajracārya and became the founder of a new cult of which Vikramasīlā was the only centre in those days. He wrote about nine Sanskrit works on Tantrā which are lost but preserved in Tibetan translation.
2. Ācārya Vairocana Raksita was a pupil of Padmasambhava, the great professor of Nālandā, when Padmasambhava departed for Tibet in order to preach Buddhism, Vairocana came to Vikramasīlā where he composed several books in Sanskrit, such as Bodhisattva caryāvatāra - Pañjikā, Ratnavadacakra, and the like and translated into Tibetan several Tāntrika works like Vinayasamgraha, Sukla-vajra Yogini-Sādhana, or prajñāpāramitā - hṛdaya - sādhana. He followed later to Tibet in the time of its king Khri-Sron-Ide-Btsan about 750 A.D.

He won the titles of Mahāpāṇḍita or a great scholar and Mahācārya, i.e. great teacher.

3. Ācārya Jetāri was the son of Brāhmaṇa Garbhapāda, who was

a native of King Saṇātana, a feudatory of the Pāla Kings of Bengal. When Jetāri completed his study at Vikramaśīlā University, King Mahāpāla (A.D. 899 - 940) conferred upon him the title of paṇḍita. Later on he became a Professor (ācārya) in that University. Ācārya Jetāri was teacher of distinguished scholars Ācārya Ratnākaraśānti who learnt from him sūtra and Tantra and became a Gate-Keeper (Dvāra-paṇḍita and later on a Professor of that University in about 983 A.D. and the teacher of the great Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna Atīśa. But according to Mm. H.P. Sastri Atīśa was the pupil of Ratnākaraśānti. He wrote Sanskrit works such as Nai-rātmyasiddhi, Sahopalambhasiddhi, etc.

4. Ācārya Prajñākaramati was the Dvārapaṇḍita (Gate-Keeper) of South Gate of the Vikramaśīlā Mahavi^{hā}ra. He wrote several books, two of which are in Tibetan.
5. Ācārya Ratnākaraśānti, a renowned logician was a Dvāra Paṇḍita (Gate-Keeper) of the East Gate, of the Vikramaśīlā University (Mahavi^{hā}ra). Nothing is known about his early life. He was first at Odantapuri University where he received Ordination in the Sarvasv^āvāda School. Later he joined Vikramaśīlā as a pupil of Ācārya Jetāri who taught him Sūtra and Tantra. As previously said, according to Mm. H.P. Sastri, Ratnākaraśānti was the teacher of Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna Atīśa. In A.D. 1035 under the supervision of Atīśa a great Assembly was convened^{at} Vikramaśīlā. Ratnākaraśānti selected the subject matters and speakers concerned of the Assembly. Ratnākaraśānti went to Ceylon (Srīlāṅkā) to preach Buddhism at the invitation of the King of that country. He was a versatile Paṇḍita and a great logician. According to R.K. Mookerji he wrote about thirteen works in Sanskrit, among which may be mentioned Vajrabhairava - gaṇa cak^{ra} - nāma⁷⁸ " and Śrī-Sarva-rahasya -

pradīpa-nāma. " A few of his original works are extant in Sanskrit and rest are preserved in Tibetan translation. His Antaryāpti-Samarthaṇa, a book on logic has been included in six Buddhist Nyāya tracts edited by Mm. H.P.Sastri. The Chandoratnākara, a book on poeṣy in Sanskrit written by Ratnākaraśānti along with its Tibetan translation was edited and published by Gaorg Huth from Berlin, Germany in 1890. Ratnākaraśānti wrote a commentary on a Vajrayāna text entitled Muktikāvalī or Hevajratantrapāñcika. He wrote many Śādhana, one of them is Sukhaduḥkandya Parityagad-rsti.⁷⁹

6. Ācārya Jñānaśrīmitra, a native of Gauḍa, was the Dvāra Paṇḍita (Wise Gate - Keeper) of Second Central Gate of the Vikramaśīlā University. He first belonged to Śrāvaka school and later on changed to Mahāyāna. He is also a great logician. He wrote several works in Sanskrit, such as ' Pramāṇa-Viniścaya-tīkā, Tarkabhāṣā ". Kṣaṇabhaṅgādhya, etc. and learnt Tibetan into which he translated his works.
7. Ācārya Ratnavajra, a native of Kāśmīra, was another Dvāra-panḍita of the first Central Gate of the Vikramaśīlā University. At Kāśmīra he studied the texts of Buddhist Sūtras and Mantras and also the Sciences upto his 36th year, when he came to Magadha, visited Vajrāsana (Bodh-Gaya) and joined the Vikramaśīlā University to his further studies winning the title of Paṇḍita " won the position of Dvāra paṇḍita, He came back to Kāśmīra after some time, where he convinced in debate and converted to his faith some renowned Tīrthakas and then went to Uḍḍāna, whence he finally came to Tibet where learnt

Tibetan ,into which he translated many Buddhist works of which fourteen are mentioned, such as ' Mañamāyā-Sādhana ', " Śrī-Heruka- Sādhana - nāma, " Śrī-Akṣobha-Vajra-Sādhana " and Tāntrika texts.

8. Ācārya Vagīśvara Kīrti, a native of Benares, was a Dvāra Paṇḍita of the west Gate of the Vikramaśilā University. He was a worshipper of " Tārā Devī " and author of Sanskrit work entitled " Mrtyabancopadeśa " which was introduced to Tibet by Dīpaṅkara and other Tāntrika Texts.
9. Ācārya Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna, also known as Ācārya Atīśa, was one of the greatest Indian Scholars who worked as missionaries in foreign countries. He being invited by King Mahāpāla joined the Vikramaśilā University as Professor and became the chief abbot of the Mahāvīra^{hā}. Following the elaborate Tibetan accounts his biography is briefly as follows :

Dīpaṅkara was born in A.D. 980 in the royal family of Gauḍat Vikramanipur in Bangla, a country lying to the east of Vajrāsana (Bodh-Gaya). His father called 'Oge-vahī dpañ' in Tibetan, i.e. Kalyāṇśrī and his mother Prabhāvatī gave him the name of Candragarbha, and sent him while very young to jetāri, an Avadhuta adept for his education. Under Jetāri he studied the five kinds of minor sciences, and thereby paved his way for study of philosophy and religion.

As he grew in his age he acquired proficiency in the three piṭakas of the four classes of the Hīnayāna Śrāvakas, in the Vaiśeṣika philosophy, in the three piṭakas of the Mahāyāna doctrine, the high metaphysics of the Mādhyamika and Yogācāra

schools and the four classes Tantras. He commenced study of meditative sciences of Buddhists in three stages - morality, meditation and divine learning, for this purpose he went to the Vihāra of Kṛṣṇagiri to receive lessons from Rāhula Gupta who gave him the secret name of Guhyajñāna Vajra and initiated into the mysteries of Esoteric Buddhism. At 19 he took the sacred vows from Śīla Rakṣita, the Mahāsaṅghika ācārya of Odantapuri Vihāra, who gave him the new name Dīpaṅkara Śrī-Jñāna. At 31 he received the highest ordination from Ācārya Dharma Rakṣita. After thus completing his education he sailed off to Suvarṇa Dvīpa, where he studied the mysteries of Buddhism under Ācārya Candrakīrti and stayed there for 12 years. After returning to India he visited Ceylon (Śrī-Lāṅkā). He defeated in a discussion many Tirthikas assembled at Vajrāsana (Bodh Gaya) and was soon elected as the head of the Community of Buddhist Monks of Magadha and Gauḍa. King Naya Pāla in recognition of his learning and reputation, appointed him to the Headship of Vikramasīlā. At this time the Tibetan King Chan Chub sent his messenger to Dīpaṅkara to come to Tibet to purge Tibetan Buddhism of its many corruptions. But Atīśa refused on the ground. "I have keys of many monasteries in my Charge and many works still remain unfinished. So, I cannot shortly set out for Tibet".

Afterwards, under divine inspiration from Goddess Tārā, he decided to leave for Tibet against the strongest wishes of his esteem colleagues Ratnakīrti, Vairocana, Kapakasa of Nepal and many others, and was accompanied on his journey to Mṛta Vihāra by Paṇḍitas Bhūmigarbha, Nagtsho, Gyatso, Vīrya Candra and others. On reaching Tibet

he was received by a " Song of welcome sung by all the people". and conducted to the king by an escort of 300 horsemen. He reformed existing Buddhism and founded the new religion of Lamaism. He worked in Tibet for thirteen years (A.D. 1040 - 1053) and died at Nathan near Lhasa at 73. But he had a permanent influence in Tibet mainly through his works showing him as the greatest writer on Tibetan Buddhism on which about 200 works are ascribed to him mainly on Vajrayāna Buddhism. He was also a profound scholar in Tibetan, into which he translated twenty two works. Some interesting details regarding the gate, Tibetan House, and Atīśa Library in the Vikramaśīlā University are given in a Tibetan account of the visit of the Tibetan monk Nagtsho who deputed by the Tibetan King to Vikramaśīlā for the purpose of inviting Dīpaṅkara Śrī Jñān Atīśa to Tibet.

10. Vīryasiṃha was principally known as associate of Ācārya Dīpaṅkara Śrī Jñāna whom he helped in translating into Tibetan at Vikramaśīlā the important Sanskrit works " Saṃsāramanoranjanīyānikāra-nāme saṃgīti " and Kāyavākya - citta - supratīṣṭhā - nāme."
11. Ācārya Abhayākara-gupta, a native of Gauḍa, was a great scholar of Vikramaśīlā. After learning the five vidyās (Sciences) he became a monk and was appointed as royal priest by King Rāma Pāla of Magadha to perform the religious ceremonies of the palace. Magadha was then a stronghold of Buddhism under the patronage of its rulers. It was represented by 3000 monks in residence at Vikramaśīlā Mahavihāra, 1000 at Vajrāsana (Bodh-Gaya) and 1000 at Odantapuri. A religious festival would bring together 5000 monks, including Mahāyānist and Śrāvakas who then numbered over 10,000. It is said that Rāma pāla gave free food

daily to forty Mahāyānistā and 200 Sravakas of Vajrāsana. Thou-

gh Abhayākara-gupta was the head of Mahāyāna school, he was respected by the Srāvakas. He remained at Vikramśilā Mahāvīra^{hā} for a long time and worked at Nālandā at the same time and was eye-witness, of the first Turūks invasion of Magadha. He was a great scholar and writer in Sanskrit and Translator in Tibetan. He composed his work "Muni - Matālaṅkara". He is credited with the translation into Tibetan of Sevena works dealing with the Sādhana of Mahākāla, Mahākālāntara and the like, and with the authorship of twenty-six Sanskrit books, all of which mark him out as an authority on Tantra cult. He was known by the title of Ārya-Mahāpāṇḍita.

12. Ācārya Tathāgata Rakṣita, probably a native of Orissa, was also a great scholar in Vikramśilā Mahāvīra^{hā}. He was a Kayastha by caste, but of a family of physicians by Profession as a student of Vikramśilā, he won its titles 'Mahāpāṇḍita' and 'Upādhyāya'.

He was a Professor of Tantra on which he wrote many books. He translated his own and other works into Tibetan.

13. Ācārya Ratnakīrti was a great logician. He was educated at Vikramśilā University and won successively the titles Upādhyāya, Paṇḍita and Mahāpāṇḍita as a student. His Tibetan translations have enriched the Tibetan literature and introduced to Tibet the true spirit of Indian Buddhism. Among the works may be mentioned of Chittadvṛtiprakaraṇa; pramāntarbhava-prakaraṇa, Vyāptinirṇaya, Sarvajña-siddhi, Samanyanirakaraṇa, etc.

14. Mañjuśrī was a paṇḍita of Vikramśilā and known only by his translations carried out at that place. His works show him to be a

devotee of Tārā.

15. Dharmakīrti, a native of Tibet, came to study Sanskrit at Vikramasīla University. Here he later translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan the Work "Samaya Pañca" of Padmasambhava. He subsequently translated many Sanskrit works into Tibetan.
16. Śākya Śrī Bhadra, a native of Kāshmīra, was a great logician. He came all the way from far off Kāshmīra to visit the existing seats of Learning in Magadha. Unfortunately enough he noticed both Odantipuri and Vikramasīla destroyed by the Muslims. As related by the author of Tabakat-i-Nasari (Raverly, p.552).
 "The greater number of inhabitants of that place were Brāhmanas (Bhikṣus) and the whole of these Brāhmanas had their heads shaven, and they were slain. There were a great number of books on the religion of the Hindus (Buddhists) there, and when all these books came under the observation of the Musalmans, they summoned a number of Hindus that they might give them information respecting the import of the books; but the whole of the Hindus had been killed. On becoming acquainted (with the contents of those books), it was found that the whole of that fortress and city was a college, and in the Hindu tongue, the call a collapse Bihāra (Vihāra). After destruction of the Vikramasīla Mahāvihāra, Śākya Śrī Bhadra went direct to Jagaddala Mahāvihāra whence he proceeded to Tibet, accompanied by Mahāpāṇḍita Vibhūticandra and many other monks settled down there as preachers of Buddhism.

JAGADDALA UNIVERSITY

Jagaddala Mahāvihāra was the last glory of Buddhism in ancient Bengal. It was founded in the city of Rāmavati⁸¹ or Varendra⁸² by the last great Pāla emperor Rāmapāla (C. 1084 - 1130 A.D.) who installed therein the images of Avolokiteśvara and Maḥat Tārā⁸³. In the historical poem Rāmacarita, Sandhyākara Nandī, the Court poet of King Rāma Pāla, gives a glorified description, in epic style, of Varendra, Rāma Kingdom (identified with North Bengal) and its capital Rāmavati and mentions its great Jagaddala Monastery: Mandrāṇam. Sthitamudham Jagaddala-Mahāvira⁸⁴-Cita-rāgam, dadhatam Lokēśamapi Mahattarodiritoru Mahīmānam, i.e. ' Varendrī, which had elephants of the Mandra type imported (into its forests) - where, in the great Monastery (Mahāvihāras) of Jagaddala, kindly love for all was found accumulated - which country bore (in its heart) the image of (bodhiṣṭva) Lokēśa (Avalokiteśvara) - whose great glory was still more increased by (the presence of) the great (heads of Monasteries and image of) Tārā (the Buddhist Goddess)'. From above description it seems that in Rāmpāla's time Buddhism was in a flourishing condition in Varendra and had its main centre at the Jagaddala Mahāvira⁸⁴.

Scholar differ in their opinions regarding the location of the monastery of Jagaddala. Mm.H.P.Sastri

placed it in East Bengal and thought that it was not Rāmāvati.⁸⁵ Nalini Nath Dasgupta and R.K.Mookherji stated that it was situated at the confluence of Ganges and Karatoya.⁸⁶ The Tibetan sources had, however, clearly pointed out that this Monastery was situated in Orissa, and that it was place of refuge for a large number of Buddhist and Tantric Siddhas while their Monastic strongholds in Bihar and Bengal were destroyed by the Muslim invaders. According to the Pag- Sam- jon- Zang which locates Jagaddala in Orissa, which became a resort of Scholars of Tantric Buddhism. The Kashmirian monk scholar Śākya Śrībhadrā started from Kāsmīra to visit existing Buddhist seats of learning in Magadha. But as he found both Universities Odantapuri and Vikramasīlā already destroyed by the Mahammedans, he directed his journey farther east until he came to Jagaddal which was still then full of monks. He stayed there for about three years. Śubhakaragupta, a great saint and scholar was then living at Jagaddala, Śākya Śrībhadrā became his disciple.⁸⁷ Śākya Śrībhadrā also had pupils here among them two brilliant scholars Bibhūticandra and Dānaśīlā accompanied him to Nepal and then to Tibet. They were bilingualists, proficient in both Sanskrit and Tibetan and they composed and translated a large number of books on Tantra now preserved in Tibetan translations.⁸⁸ Śubhakaragupta composed the Ādikarma-racanā which was nothing but recognised Buddhist Law-Book.⁸⁹

Mahāpandita Vibhūticandra was the author of Six Sanskrit texts which were translated into Tibetan by him.⁹⁰ Besides, he rendered about eighteen Sanskrit books written by others into Tibetan.⁹¹ The other renowned scholar Dānaśīlā, who won several titles like Pandita, Mahāpandita, Upādhyāya and Ācārya.

for his profound knowledge, translated fifty tantric books into Tibetan.

The Mahāvihāra of Jagaddala maintain -
ed a very good Library which was profitably utilized by many
teachers, scholars and foreign students of this University. Thou-
gh there was no direct reference to this regard, yet from the
names and works of the celebrated teachers of this Mahāvira^{hā}, one
can conveniently trace the libraries of Jagaddala an important
stronghold of Buddhist learning during the late Mediaeval peri-
od.⁹² The works composed by the Pandits^a (Scholars) of this Univer-
sity were grossly Tantric in character and generally dealt with
pisacas, Yakṣas, etc. and their sādhanā, one special feature of
the Jagaddal Monastery was that many Tibetan scholars (Loṇavas)
thronged there and translated Sanskrit books into Tibetan.⁹³

Another scholar of Jagaddala was
Maksaragupta*. He was Master of Mahāyānist learning and composed
a Sanskrit work on Hetuvidyā (Science of Logic) called Tarkab-
hāṣā which was translated into Tibetan, He concludes the work
with the same ' Parināmanā ' formula. the old Mahāyānist schola-
rs usually concludes the works with, " whatever merit I have acq-
uired by writing this work Tarkabhāṣā, with that merit let the
World proceed to Buddhahood, .A Tibetan translation of the work
in Tanjur and its original text has been found in the Jaina Manus-
cript library at pattan, Nepal with the following Colophon.

' Ended is the third chapter on Parārthānumāna in the Tarkabhāṣā
composed by the great ascetic (Mahāyati) Śrīmat Bhikṣu Mokṣara-
gupta belonging to Rāja Jagaddala " Monastery. ⁹⁴

Not long after the departure of Śrībhadrā, Vibhūticandra and Dānśīla for Tibet, Life of Bhikṣu in Jagaddal Mahāvira^{hā} had become insecure in Varendra ; the Turuskas (Mohammedans) had entered into North Bengal and were already on the ravage. The Tibetan historian says - " At the time of Lavana Sena some Bhikṣus were sent as emissaries in the region between the Gaṅgā and Yamunā (i.e the place where the Turuskas were settled). The Turuskas destroyed Odantapura and Vikramasīlā and killed many bhikṣus.⁹⁵

" The condition of Jagaddal Mahavira after the Turuska ravages (about 1207 A.D.) at Ramavati is not known. It might have been deserted altogether though the site of Ramavati seems to have been re-populated after the Muslim conquest and continued for at least three or four centuries more."⁹⁶

ODANTAPURI UNIVERSITY

The Buddhist University of Odantapuri or Odantapura existed long before rise of the Jagaddala Mahāvira^{hā}. R.K.Mookherji says, very little is known of this University, although at the time of Abhayakaragupta an abbot of the Vikramasīlā University, there were 1000 monks in residence here.⁹⁷ During the declining period the Nālandā University Odantapuri Mahāvira^{hā} was erected by a certain Gopāla or Lokapāla who ascended the throne of Bengal in about 730 A.D.⁹⁸ This Mahāvira^{hā} was perhaps located in the District of Patna in Bihar.⁹⁹ When the Pāla kings came into

power in Magadha, they expanded the University of Odantapuri by¹⁰⁰ endowing it with good liberty of Brahmanical and Buddhist works.

On the basis of Sumpa's account, S.C. Das located Odantapuri on a hill near the town of modern Bihar.¹⁰¹ The Tibetan Scholar Dge-dun-Chas 'Phel stated " On the railway line from Patna to Rajgir there is station called Bihar Sharif. If one looks to West after reaching the Station, one will see a low mound. This is said to contain the ruins of Odantapuri Vihāra, on this place was a famous monastery of India and our ' Sam- yas was modelled on it. There is nothing to prove that this was the spot except the saying that it was so, .Anyway this mound is a place where No-ro-pa stayed and its name was phullahari. There can be no doubt about that. In his Namthar, Chaq lo-tsa-ba says that there is a hill at a distance of day's journey to the North of Nalanda (where phullahari was). In the north of Nālandā there is no other hill except this. Besides, the shape of the hill is stopping towards Tibet and this agrees with the description given by Mi-la-raspa.¹⁰²

The monastery at Odantapuri was built with the gold that was said to have been miraculously obtained by a Buddhist in Mystical process. Tibetan historian Tārānāth¹⁰³ recorded : ' Between Gopāla and Devapāla, Sri Odantapuri temple was built. A Tīrthika Yogi, with purity of character, obtained miraculous power somewhere near Magadha. His name was Nārada. He wanted to perform the ritual with a corpse (Śava-Sādhanā). For this purpose, he needed a companion who was to be physically strong , intellectually sharp, honest and versed in all crafts and branches

of knowledge. He could not find any other person like that excepting a Buddhist Upāsaka (laydevotee). He requested the Upāsaka to assist him in the ritual with the corpse. The Upāsaka replied ' I cannot be an assistant of a Tīrthika. ' He (Nārada said, You need not be a Tīrthika (besides, by assisting me) you will find inexhaustible wealth. With that you can spread your own religion. ' ' So he (Upāsaka) said, ' Then I shall go and ask Guru, told him everything and received the Guru's permission and became Nārada's assistant. As the ritual was nearing its fulfilment, he (Nārada) said, ' When the corpse sticks out its tongue you must catch it. If you can catch the tongue the first time it is stuck out, you will attain supreme success ((mahā-siddhi)). Being able to catch it on the second occasion will bring you intermediate success: being able to catch it for the last time will bring small success. If you fail to catch it even on the third (last) occasion, he (Śaṅkha) will first devour two of us and then will make the whole World empty. The Upāsaka failed to catch the tongue for the first and second time. Then he sat down with his own mouth near that of corpse, ready to catch its tongue with his own teeth. And the third time the corpse when stretched out its tongue, he caught it with his teeth. Then the tongue became a sword and corpse itself turned into gold. The Upāsaka took hold of the sword and went round the corpse. With the sword in hand, he began to fly in sky, the Tīrthika said, " I have done this for the sake of the World. Therefore give me the sword. " The Upasaka said, ' Yes, I will give you the sword after I have had some right seeing. ' So he flew to the top of Sumeru circled it along with four dvīpes and Upadīpas. Within a moment he came back and gave the sword to the Tīrthika.

He (Tīrthika) said, ' You take the golden body. You can have gold from it so long as you do not touch the bones. But do not spend the gold on evil purposes, like wine and women. You can spend it for your own use and for holy undertakings. If you do that, any part of body that you may slice off during the day will be replaced during night. After saying this, he (Nārada) flew to heaven with the sword. And the Upāsaka, with Vetāla's gold built the colossal temple of Odantapuri. Odanta means ' flying over ; for the Upāsaka flew in the sky over along with its four dvīpas and saw these with his own eyes. That is why, he built the temple (Odantapuri) in its model (i.e. in the model of Sumeru along with its four dvīpas and saw with his own eyes. That is why, he built the temple (Odantapuri) in its model (i.e. in the model of Sumeru along with its four dvīpas. And the Upāsaka's name became Unna Upāsaka. This temple was not built by any king or minister. The craftsmen and artists that work for building temple and its images were paid and fed from the gold of the Vetāla's body. Only from this gold were maintained 5000 Bhikṣus and 500 Upāsakas. This his own eyes. That is why, he built the temple (Odantapuri) in its model (i.e. in the model of Sumeru along with its four dvīpas. And the Upāsaka's name became Unna Upāsaka. This temple was not built by any king or minister. The craftsmen and artists that work for building the temple and its images were paid and fed from the gold of the Vetāla's body. Only from this gold were maintained 5000 bhikṣus and 500 Upāsakas. This his own death that Upāsaka (Unna) acted according to his own religion, He knew that the gold could not be used by other after his death. So he buried it under the earth with the prayer that it may benefit all living being in

future. And he gave his temple (Odantapuri) to Devapāla." Sumpa's account of the foundation of Odantapur was also based on the same legend. Sumpa says, ' at the time (i.e. between Gopāla and Devapāla), a Tāntrika called Nārada wanted to perform the ritual with a corpse to attain siddhi of the sword, met Unne, discussed with him and arranged for the ritual performance. They could convert the corpse into gold. With that gold, he (Unne) built Odantapuri near Nālandā, having for its model Sumeru with its four dvipas.¹⁰⁴ From above account it becomes evident that Odantapuri was built by Dharmapāla. The legend of Bu-ston is thus. ' At the time when, at an auspicious hour, the religious ceremonies were performed (over the child, i.e. Dharmapāla) the head of serpent haughtily rose up. The king (Gopāla) enraged, resolved to cut it off, but a ring was shown to him, on which he beheld the characters of the Nāgas. He then continued to worship and after that devoted himself to the education of the child i.e. Dharmapāla. When the latter grew up, he became possessed of the desire of building a temple more magnificent than all the others and inquired the Sooth sayer (On this subject). The Sooth sayers said that it was necessary to make a wick out of the cotton belonging to ascetic, and Brāhmaṇas to fetch an oil-burner from a place of penance, and to place the burning lamp before the tutelary deity - If thou shalt address an entreaty, the serpent of Dharmapala will throw the lamp away, and at the place (Where it falls) the temple must built. This was done, but there suddenly appeared a raven that threw the lamp into a lake. (The Youth) was distressed, but in the night the kind of Nāgas with five serpent heads came to him and said - I am the father, and I will cause this lake to dry up. Thou shalt build the temple in the place of it. (In order to bring this

about) thou must perform sacrifices for seven weeks. This was accordingly done. On the 21st day the Lake was dried up and (in its place) the monastery of Odantapuri¹⁰⁵ was built. We may assign the time of existence of Odantapuri in the earlier half of the eighth century as it is mentioned that the first Tibetan Buddhist Monastery, Sam-ye (Sanskrit Acintya Vihāra), was built in A.C. 749 after the model of Odantapuri Mahavihāra¹⁰⁶ which earned so much fame at that time even in Tibet. In the Tibetan legends the names of some eminent scholars were associated with the Odantapuri Mahāvira. Among them Atīśa or Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna . (A.C. 980 - 1054) was the most famous. He studied at Odantapuri for two years under a Hīnayānist teacher Dharmarakṣita. At the age of nineteen he obtained the sacred vows from Śīlarakṣita, the Mahāsaṅghika Ācārya of Odantapuri, who gave him the name of Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna,¹⁰⁷ from this place Atīśa passed on to Vikramaśīla where he became the head of the institution and stayed there till he started for Tibet.¹⁰⁸ Abhayākara Gupta the head of Mahāyāna School and a great writer, rendered many books into Tibetan at the Odantapuri Mahāvira. In one of inmates of this Monastery was given as 12000, which showed that it was a large and prosperous establishment.¹⁰⁹

Dr. R.K. Mookherji, in this Ancient Indian Education (p.596) says, " Odantapuri is now known for its famous scholar named Prabhākara who hailed from Chatarpur in Bengal.

It appears that this University existed long before the Pāla Kings came into power in Magadha. These kings expended the University by endowing it with a good library of, Brahmanical and Buddhist works. We have also seen how this

monastery was taken as the model on which the first Tibetan Buddhist monastery was built in A.D.749 under the King Khris-ron-dev-tsan on the advice of his guru, Santarakṣita.

But it is a matter of regret that the glory of Odantapuri Mahāvihāra could not survive for long.

Nag-tsho mentioned " Odantapuri with its fifty-three monks.¹¹⁶

Towards the end of the 11th Century it must have gone far into decline. This splendid Vihāra was pillaged by Bakhtiyar and his troops in A.C.1197.¹¹¹ According to Tārānātha,¹¹² the emperor of Magadha fortified the Monastery and stationed some soldiers with whom the monks joined in repulsing the attackers. However, the Vihāra with its rich collection was totally destroyed in 1199 A.C.¹¹³ at the 38th regnal year of Govindapāladeva who ascended the throne in 1161 A.C. Details of the destruction of the Odantapuri Vihāra may be summed up in the following manner : Ikhtiyar Ud-din Muhammad, son of Bakhtiyar of the Turkish tribe of Khalji, who was also an officer subordinate to Qutub-Ud-din Aibek had been carrying on the banner of Islam further afield during 1175 when Ghiyas -Ud-din Muhammad (of the Ghaznavids) led his first expedition into India. He invaded Bihar, took its capital Udantapur, put to death the Buddhist monks dwelling in its great Monastery.----- and returned with its plunder, which included the library of the monastery, to make obeisance to Aibek, in the summer of 1193 A.C. The story of this assault was told long afterwards, in 1243 A.C, by an eye-witness to the Persian historian Minhaz who reported it in his work, Tabaquat-i-Nasiri thus " It is said by credible persons that he, Bakhtiyar Khilji (actually he was Ikhtiyar Khilji, son of Bakhtiyar,

. went to the gate of the fort of Bihar with only two hundred horses and began the war by taking the enemy unaware. In the service of Bakhtyar (?) there were two brothers of great intelligence. One of them was named Nizamuddin and the other Samsudding. (The compiler of the book met Samsuddin at Lakhanauti (i.e. Lakṣanvāti in Gaur in the district of Malda, North Bengal), in the year A.C. 1243 and heard the following story from him. When Bakhtyar reached the gate of the fort and the fighting began, these two wise brothers were active in that army of heroes. Muhammad Bakhtyar (?) with great vigour and audacity rushed in at the gate of the fort and gained possession of the place. Great plunder fell into the hands of the victors. Most of the inhabitants of the place were Brahmans with Shaven heads (i.e. the Buddhist Monks). They were put to death, large number of books were found there, and when the Muhammadans saw them they called for some persons to explain their contents. But all of the men had been killed. It was discovered that the whole fort and city was a place of study (Madrasa) - in the Hindi language the word Bihar (i.e. Viḥāra) means a College.

Takṣasīlā University

Takṣasīlā (Pali Takāsilā) was a famous Buddhist centre and advanced seat of learning with wide spread fame and reputation in ancient India. The Pali Vinayapitaka and the Jātakas testify to the fact that from Pre-Buddhist time educational institutions of Takṣasīlā attracted thousands of students and scholars who came there to quench their thirst for knowledge and to be trained in special secular science and religious education from all over India and distant foreign countries. These institutions had originated in the Brahmanical period and flourished

to their zenith during Buddhist time and continued for several centuries.¹¹⁵

The name Takṣasīlā originates, as the Divyāvadāna relates from the legend that here the head of king Candraprabha was severed by a beggar Brāhmaṇa.¹¹⁶ Takṣasīlā was also known Bhadrāsīlā which was rich, prosperous and populous city. It was 12 Yojanas in length and breadth having four large gates and it was adorned with vaults and windows (Ref Bodhisattvavadaṇakalpalatā, 5th Pallava). The Chinese pilgrims called it Ta-Cha-Shilo.¹¹⁷ Takṣasīlā has been identified with modern Taxila, which is a Greek coinage, in the district of Rowalpindi in Pakistan. Cunningham says that the site of Taxila is found near Shah-Devi, just a mile to the north-east of Kala-Ka-Sarai in the extensive ruins of a large fortified city around which about fifty five stupas,¹¹⁸ twenty monasteries and nine temples were discovered.

In ancient time Takṣasīlā was a prosperous and thickly populated city. According to Arrian, it was, in the time of Alexander, the greatest of all the cities which lay between the Indus and the Hydaspes (Jhelum).¹¹⁹ Other Greek historians accounts also support this view. This prosperity of the city continued certainly even up to the seventh century when Hiuen Tsang visited India. According to him Takṣasīlā was above 2000 lie in circuit, its capital being more than 10 li. The land was fertile and yielded good crops. It had flowing streams and luxuriant vegetation. The climate was accommodating and the people were followers of Buddhism. There were many monasteries there but some of them were desolate. The Brethren living in them adhered to the Mahāyāna, the Great Vehicle.¹²⁰ Being situated on the meeting

place of the different trade routes and high ways from the various corners of India such as Benares, Śrāvastī, Lāta, Soreyya, Kuru, Magadha and Sivi countries and also the path trodden by foreign invaders like the Greeks and Bactrians, the Śakas, the Kuṣāṇas. etc. in different ages, Takṣaśilā, a great centre of trade, so rich and prosperous was the capital of Gandhāra kingdom.

So far our knowledge goes, in Takṣaśilā there was no organised institution or University to impart education. Rather it may be called an educational centre where special and higher studies were pursued. Literary evidence testify to the fact that education was imparted here by private teachers on family system. The eminent and learned teachers, who had widespread fame (disāpāmokkha ācariya), privately taught their disciples, who hailed from near and distant places. The wise teachers had deep knowledge in specialized subjects at their own residence independently. Thus the Gurukul Type of institution developed.

They were privately managed by the learned scholars with no connection or direction from any outside institution. Students were admitted according to the decision of the teachers who taught the subject of their choice. There was no particular system of examination prevalent at the completion of study. If the teacher was satisfied on pupils progress that was sufficient and there was no system of awarding any degrees or diploma to him.

Mahābhārata introduces us to ideal teachers, students, hermitages and other centres of learning like Takṣaśilā where Dhaumya taught his three pupils Āruṇi, Veda and

Upamanyu. Āruni who hailed from Pañcāla was an ideal student regarding his devotion and obedience to his teacher who expressed his recognition by giving him title of Uddālaka. Dhaumya's other pupil Veda became a successful teacher and had a devoted student Uṭanka who procured for his preceptor the choicest presents before leaving Veda's home on completion of studentship. Another student of Dhaumya, Upamanyu was entrusted with duties to take care of preceptor's field, to tend his cattle, etc. These stories confirm the traditions of the Upanisads and other literature regarding the general course of study and the regulations of the system of studentship.

Takṣaśīlā continued as a noted centre of education during Buddha's time and the following centuries. The prince Pasenadi (Prasenajit), son of the King Mahākosaḷa of Kosala kingdom was educated at Takṣaśīlā and on his return home his father was so pleased with his proficiency in the various arts that he forthwith made him king. Mahāli, Chief of the Licchavis and Bandhula, Prince of the Mallas were classmates of Pasenadi at Takṣaśīlā. Jīvaka-Komārabhacca, a celebrated surgeon - Physician (tikicchaka - sallakatta) of Buddha's time as stated before received his medical education at Takṣaśīlā for seven years. After the end of the period the teacher (ācārya) in order to take his final test, gave a spade and told to tour a yojana around Taxila and bring whatever he should see that was not medicinal. Jīvaka passed the test and the teacher being pleased gave him a little money and sent away considering him fit to practise medicine. ^{12.2} Āṅgulimāla, according to Pali tradition, became a favourite at the teacher's house at Takṣaśīlā, but his fellow-students poisoned the mind of his teacher, who bent on his destruction, asked

his honorarium as teacher's fee a thousand human right hand fingers. *Āṅgulimāla*, in fulfilling the teacher's wish became a notorious dācoit and at last was converted by Buddha into Buddhism.^{12.3} *Dhammapāla*, Thera of *Avanti*, *Bharadvāja* Thera of *Rājagṛha*, *Kaṇhadīpa* — *Yana Tāpasa* of *Benares* and *Yasadatta* Thera of *Malla* country were educated at *Takṣasīlā*.

Pali *Jātaka* stories abound in description of *Takṣasīlā* as a centre of higher education regarding admission, number of students, student life, teacher's fee, method and courses of study, etc. The students from different corners of India flocked together at *Takṣasīlā*, not as a beginner of Primary education but to complete their higher studies. In numerous *Jātakas* like the *Bhimasena* (80), *Asatarūpa* (100), *Vinīlaka* (160), *Anabhirati* (185), *Sādhusīla* (200), *Visapuppha* (392) and many other *Jātakas* it is mentioned that when the students came to age (*Vayappatte*) they used to come at *Takṣasīlā* for higher education. But in the *Jātakas* such as *Asadisa*, *Tilamutṭhi*, *Thusa*, *Darimukha*, *Kaṇha*, *Akitti* *Jātakas* clearly mentioned the age of admission as sixteen (*Solasavassakāle*). Naturally, grown-up boys either along with a companion or alone only could be sent so far away from their homes. *Tilamutṭhi* *Jātaka* and other reveal all Principal features of the educational system and organization of Ancient India at *Takkasīlā*. We see the method of admission of the students coming from abroad into institutions. Usually the students of rich family paid, it is said, the entire tuition fee of one thousand golden coins (*Kaḥāpanas*) in advance as teacher's fees (*ācariyabhāga*) and learned arts and sciences. They were called

as fee-payers (ācariyabhāgādāyaka). These students were entitled to various privileges and lived with the teacher as members of his family, enjoying his constant companion. Ref. Pañcāvudha (55). Tilamutṭhi (252), Asātamanta (61), Sāsima (163), Thusa (338) Jātakas. There is an instance of such a paying student who learnt three Vedas, and elephant charm (hatthisutta) from the teacher in one night (Sāsima). Those, who could not pay fees in cash, were allowed to pay teacher's fees in the way of services to their respective teachers. They were called free students (dhammantevāsika). Such students attend their teachers by day and got instruction by night (Tilamutṭhi Jātaka). The duties of five hundred pupils of an institution, for example were among others, to collect fire wood from the forest for their teacher's family (Naṅgalisa J.pp.123 ; Varuṇa J.No.71). If any student could neither pay in cash nor render services but devote his whole time in study, he was allowed to pay fees after the completion of his education. The Duta Jātaka (478) mentions that a Brāhmaṇa student paid off the fees by begging after completing his studies. In Takkaśilā poor and the rich all kinds of students were given opportunity to study.

As the students hailed from distant or near parts of India University centres at Takkaśilā were mainly residential, day-scholars were also admitted. The Junha Jātaka (no. 456) relates that the prince Junha of Benares was such a day-scholar at Takkaśilā. He had an independent house for himself from which he attended College at day-time and after the lesson he used leave the teacher's house and return to his residence in the dark at night.

Their standing duty was to collect fire wood in the forest as stated above and also personal services to the teacher. Their food was also simple consisting mainly of rice-gruel (*Yāgu*) or rice (*bhatta*). Sometimes the teacher and his students were invited to a meal at the house of a chief-man of the city where they were given sugar-cane (*Ucchu*), molasses (*gulāṃ*) and milk (*dadhikhīram*).

It is difficult to manage on the part of a single individual teacher who had a large number of pupils amounting to five hundred. In that case he was helped by a staff of Assistant teacher (*Piṭṭhi ācariya*) recruited from the most advanced or senior pupils (*Jetṭhantevāsika*), who also rendered help in teaching work.

A teacher of Takkaśīla, while going outside on some mission, says to his senior student, ' My son, I am going away from home while I am away, you are to instruct these my pupils (*Mahādhammapāla Jātaka - No. 447*). These senior students or monitors (*anusatthārā*) were highly respected as teachers by other students (*Uddālaka Jātaka no. 487*).

The Mahāgutasoma Jātaka (537) states that the prince Sutasoma, a chief pupil of his teacher, attained so proficiency in teaching that he was privately coaching his favourite classmates, while teaching others gradually. The teacher sometimes sent his pupils to invitations under the supervision of the Chief pupil when he could not go himself.

The teacher, however, was not always a single individual, he had a family of his own (*ācariyakūlaṃ*) having wife and children. Therefore, it was quite natural for the

teacher to give grown up daughter (Vayappattādhita) in marriage with ornaments if possible to his chief and advanced student and send her to father-in-law's house.

Regarding courses of study in Takkasilā centres of higher education the three Vedas and the eighteen sippas or arts and technical sciences and frequently mentioned as subjects in the Jātakas,. The mention of the three Vedas, viz., R̥g., Sāma and Yajur show that the Ātharvaveda (Pālī Āthavvana) was not included in the curriculum. The vedas were of course learnt by heart and the Vedic studies was concerned with theological speculations. Though detailed list of eighteen sippas or Vijjāttāhanas i.e. subjects of study is not given in the Jātakas, they which were followed by either Brāhmanas or Khattiya youths, are mentioned in other Pālī books. The Milindapañha enumerates the following subjects ; suti (Śruti means vedas), Sammuti (Smṛiti), Sāṃkhya (Śāṃkhya), Yoga (Yoga), Nīti (Nyāya), Visesika (Vaisesika), Gaṇikā (Arithmetic), Gandhabha (Music), Tikicchā (Medicine), Catubbedā (four vedas), Purāṇa (Purāṇas), Itihāsa, Jotisa (Astronomy - astrology), Māyā (Magic), Hetu (Casuistry), Mantānā (Polity) and Muddā (Conveyancing). Besides, these we have mentioned of the following special arts and sciences : hatthisutta i.e. elephant lore (Susīma Jātaka - No. 163) Mantā, i.e. Magic charms (Anabhirati J. No. 185), Matakutthaparamantam, i.e. charm for bringing back the dead to life and the Paṭivāhanamantam i.e. Opposite of the former (Sañjiva J. No. 150), Sabbatāvajjanunamantam i.e. charm with which one understand the voice of all creatures (Parantapa J. No. 416), āṅgavijjā, i.e. the art of prognostication from bodily characteristics (Thusa J.) ālambanamantam, i.e. charm for commanding all

things, issāsippa or dhanurvidyā, i.e. archery (Bhīmasena J.No.80, Asdisa J.), nidhi - uddhāramantam, i.e. spell by which one find out treasure (Brahachatta J.No.336).

The students of Takkasīlā not only studied these sciences theoretically but also made their practical applications. For some subjects, like medicine, practical training was naturally essential, as evidenced by the account of the physician - Surgeon Jīvaka's education. For either subjects the students, after leaving teacher's house, wandered far and wide, acquiring all practical usages (Sabbasamayasiṭṭhāni) and studying country observances (desacarittam). Ref. Darimukha J.No.378. Princes had to demonstrate their knowledge of sciences before their fathers after returning home from Takkasīlā. In the present state of our knowledge it is very difficult to say exactly when and how Buddhism entered in the Maṇajapada of Gandhāra ^{na} and its capital Takṣasīlā. The early Buddhist texts are quite silent over any visit of Buddha or any of disciples as to the spread of Buddhism in this region though they record frequent visits, as previously stated, of scholars and merchants from central India (Majjhima-niṣsa). Takṣasīlā was then a great and famous seat of learning in various sciences and arts. The Ceylonese Pali chronicle Mahāvamsa records the earliest account of the introduction of Buddhism into this region. During the reign of the emperor Aśoka, Maṅgaliputta Tissa, Chief of Buddhist Saṅgha, sent Missionaries to different countries to propagate Buddha's religion. ¹²⁴ The elder (thera) Majjhantika went to Gandhāra - Kasmīra and converted a large people there into Buddha's religion.

According to Buddhist ^{tradition} when Majjhantika went there the Nāga king Aravāla was destroying the ripe

corns of the country by hail storm. Majjhantika by his miraculous powers subdued the Nāgas, who being convinced of his supernatural power, listened to his discourse on the evils of anger and hatred. The inhabitants of Kāśmīra - Gandhāra came with their offerings for Majjhantika who preached to them a discourse ^āśivisa. The consequence had been that they embraced Buddhism. It is said that, henceforth, Kāśmīra - Gandhāra continued to be illuminated by yellow robes upto the time of composition of the Mahāvamsa, A similar tradition is also found in the Tibetan Vinaya (Dulva) ; works of Tāranātha and ^{Burton}; ¹²⁵ Aśokavadāna ; Mahākarama-¹²⁵ vibhaṅga and also in Hiuen Tsang's records.

Buddhism did not prosper after Aśoka as his successors were not favour of Buddhism. After the Mauryas Northern India passed into the hands of Greek invaders who embraced Buddhism. The most noted among them was king Maenander (Pali Milinda). The discussion between king Milinda and bhikkhu Nāgasena on Buddhist doctrinal points was the theme of the book Milindapañha. A few inscriptions testify to the fact that Buddhism obtained a firm footing in Northern India including Taxila. After the Greeks, the Śakas occupied Northern India. They also embraced Buddhism and offered donations to the Buddhist Saṅgha, erected Stūpas on the relics on Śākyamuni, constructed Vihāras and installed images of Buddha therein.

After Śakas, the Kuṣānas conquered Northern India. Of them Kanīṣka and his successors were staunch adherents of Buddhism and showered their munificence by erecting stūpas, temples and images of Buddha. Buddhism it may be said had its golden age in Northern India under patronage of Kanīṣka and others.

Extensive archaeological excavations carried on at Taxila testify that the place was for long period of time a great centre of the Buddhist religion and learning. Remains of large circular stūpas surrounded by minor stupas, Monasteries, chapels, apsidal temples, images of the Buddhas and the Bodhisatvas, sculptures depicting the stories from the life of Buddha and many other things revealing the social condition of Ancient India were discovered from the sites of Javilion, Mohra, Moradu, Bahar Maund, Sircup, Sirsukh, Lal Chak, Badalpur etc. all within the area of Taxila.

One of the most illustrious examples of the type of Monastic Sanctuary is that at Takht - i - Bahai, which although ruined, is still traceable The Principal buildings were crowded within a rectangle of approximately two hundred feet in length, and comprised (i) the stūpa-court on the South, (ii) the monastery on the north, and (iii) an intervening terrace for the reception of routine stūpas, small chappels and similar structures. To the west of the monastery was a conference or assembly-hall, the remainder of the site being taken up by various subsidiary edifices, probably, a refectory, vestment chamber, Kitchen, and servants quarters. The monastery proper or Sangharama for the accommodation of the monks included ranges of cells around a central courtyard. These rooms were simple and unadorned, but on the walls between chamber, and protected by a varandah, it became the custom to place large figure groups, often of stucco and vividly coloured, which caused these usually sombre retreats to become animated picture galleries of sacred subjects of such viharas, however, the one discovered near the Dharmarajika stūpa is of prime significance

There are frequent references to Taxila in the Pali Literature as a centre learning. The Buddhist Jātakas, as already said, relates that Young men from all over the country congregated in this city and took up secular studies. Number of foreigners even from distant lands like Korea and Japan besides many Greeks, came here in order to reap benefits of the expert tuition given by the great teachers and of rare and valuable collection of books at the monastic University. Here pupils and masters handled well got up books.¹²⁸ The main object which the foreign students had in view at this place seemed to have been the library and its books which they copied as was done in the Buddhist University of Nālandā of later times.¹²⁹ A manuscript which was written at Taxila has recently been discovered near Gosing in khotan. Some other manuscripts dated in the Kuṣāṇa period, which might have copied^{at} Taxila, have been found in Central Asia. When the teachers used to deliver lectures to the students, or hold conversations, they always carried five manuscripts.¹³⁰ Fa-Hien does not mention any Monasteries in Takṣaśilā which figures so largely in the Buddhist literature as a centre of learning.¹³¹ Hieun Tsang, on the other hand, witnessed there numerous ruined Monasteries and Mahāyānist monks very few in number.¹³² He also traced on Aśoka Tope which was above twelve miles to the north of Taxila. Here was an old ruinous monastery occupied by a few monks, where Kumāralabdha, a teacher of the Sautrāntika School, composed his expository treatises.¹³³¹³⁴

VALABHI UNIVERSITY

Valabhi Or Vallabhi was a prosperous city and a great centre of Buddhist learning, a rival to the University of Nālandā during the time of Huen Tsang's visit. The name Valabhi was rather later in origin. In an inscription of the 5th Century A.D. which was discovered in the ruins of the place it was known as the kingdom of Balabhadra.¹³⁵ Huen Tsang called the place Fa-la-pi and also Pe-lo-lo. The ruins of the city of Valabhi were first discovered by Colonel Tod near Bhavnagar on the eastern side of Gujrat or ancient Surashtra. According to Huen Tsang the kingdom of Valabhi was 6000 li in circuit, which in the opinion of Sir Cunningham, was very nearly the truth if the kingdom included the district of Bharoch and Surat (Surāṣṭra).¹³⁶ The Chinese traveller also says that the province of Su-la-cha or Surāṣṭra was dependant on Valabhi.¹³⁷

Though Buddhism was introduced into Aparantaka (Western India) which included also Valabhi in the early centuries and as the Nāgārjunikondā inscriptions mention that the Buddhist Theras of Ceylon had propagated the religion of the Master in the country of Aparantaka,¹³⁸ Valabhi as centre of Buddhist activities and learning flourished up from the time of Maitraka kings (A.D. 475 - 775) of the country. Having gifts and munificence from the devoted royal members it soon became a great abode of Buddhist monks and a full fledged University like Nālandā, nay ,even it surpassed the latter, as we know from Kathāsaritsāgara (XXXII, 42-43) that the Brahmin Vasudatta of Antaravedi preferred Valabhi to Nālandā or Benares to send his son for education.

The first Vihāra of Valabhi was erected by the princess Duddā,¹³⁹ niece of King Dhruvasena. She is mentioned in some inscriptions as queen and later on a Buddhist nun. Duddā's Vihāra was very large as it was called 'Vihāra-maṇḍala' in the inscriptions and other Vihāras like Yakṣasura Vihāra (for nuns), and Gohaka Vihāra were built within its boundary.¹⁴⁰ Another royal lady who embraced the life of a nun and constructed a monastery was Mimmā (A.D. 554 - 569). In this region thirteen other monasteries were constructed, viz., Bhatārka, Gohaka Vihāra, Abhyantarika Vihāra, Kakka Vihāra, Buddhadāsa Vihāra, Vimala Gupta Vihāra, Sthiramati Vihāra, Yakṣa Vihāra, Pūrṇa-Bhaṭṭa Vihāra, Bappapa Vihāra, Vamsātaka Vihāra, and Yadhavaka Vihāra.¹⁴¹ The purpose for the construction of the monastery mentioned in the inscriptions are as follows :

- (1) To lodge the Buddhist Saṅgha which gathered together from different quarters and consisted of Bhikṣus who practised the 18 Nikāyas or Schools. (2) For the worship of Buddha image and (3) for the installation and maintenance of books.

The above-mentioned purposes suggest that Valabhi became a great centre of Buddhist education and at least some section of the Bhikṣus who practised the 18 Nikāyas belonged to the Hīnayāna School. But the existence of Mahāyāna also is evident from the statement of the inscriptions, which was constructed from the accounts of Huen Tsang that Sthiramanti, a Mahāyāna teacher of Nālandā built a Vihāra at Valabhi. According to the Chinese traveller-¹⁴² Sthiramati and Guṇamati were once in charge of Valabhi. They were two disciples of Ācārya Vasubandhu.

Huen-Tsang visited the ruins

of this monastery " which was built by the Arhat Achara (O-
¹⁴³Che-lo)" . This information was supplemented by a grant of Dha-
 rasena II of Valabhi, in which the Sanskrit name of the founder
¹⁴⁴was given as Atharya. " This Monastery was known as the BAPPA -
 PADIYA Monastery (Monastery of the Father) as was found in a
 grant to this Vihara made by King Dhruvasena II in Circa A.C.588,
 in which he recorded the name of " Ācārya Bhadanta Sthiramati who
¹⁴⁵founded the Vihāra of Sri Bappapada at Valabhi.

The Maitraka used to offer direct gra-
 nt for the purpose of meeting the general expenditure of the Mon-
 astery as also for strengthening its library through acquisition
 of " books on Buddhism " as is evident from " Saddharmasya pust-
 akopacayārtham " in the grant of Guhasena I, dated 559 A.C. The
 addition of this item perhaps indicates that by Guhasena's time
 the monasteries were neither organised nor were in the process of
 organisation as seats of study and learning and were building
¹⁴⁶up libraries.

¹⁴⁷Huen Tsang observed some hundred sang-
 haramas (monasteries), with about 6000 priests, most of them
 studying the texts of the little Vehicle, according to the Samma-
¹⁴⁸tiya School. I-tsing states that Nālandā and Valabhi were the two
 places in India where scholars used to reside for two or three
 years to complete their education. Valabhi like Nālandā also att-
 racted students from all parts of India to hold discussions on
 doctrinal points. Students of Valabhi after their completion of
 education used to present themselves at the royal Court to prove
 their ability and even to be employed in the government service.
 The last statement testifies that Valabhi provided, besides
 religious studies for other secular science like ethics, medicine
 etc. Buddhism disappeared from Valabhi in the 8th century A.D.
¹⁴⁹

Pandita Vihara :

It was a great Buddhist educational Centre in ancient Cattagrama (Modern Chittagong, in Bangladesh). Due to lack of materials and proper research the early of Buddhism in Chittagong is still in the dark. From the Tibetan sources we learn that Pandita Vihāra with its brilliant temple within was famous and distinguished as a centre of Mahāyāna Buddhism, especially Tantric learning and culture. At this Vihāra the Brahmanical disputants used to challenge the Buddhists to meet them in religious controversies. Pandita Vihāra was also associated with the origin of Panshiva rtse-rin (the pointed conical cap worn by the lamas of Tibet during religious service). This a great centre later tantric Buddhism. Tailapāda, the great Tantric Buddhism. Tailapāda, the great Tāntrika ācārya and ' Guru ' of Nāgāpāda was an inmate of this Vihāra.¹⁵⁰ Tailikapāda or Tilapāda was a Brahmin of Chittagong. The woman, with whom he practised ' Yoga ', in early life she earned by pressing seasamum (Tila), so the Tilapāda was so named. When Tilapāda was converted to Buddhism, he was called Prajñābhadrā.¹⁵¹ In the Tibetan Tanjur there is a transition of the Srisahaja-sambasvadhīsthāna which is ascribed to both Tilapāda and Prajñābhadrā. His other books are Tattvacaturōpadeśa- prasapannadīpa and Mahāmudropadeśa.¹⁵²

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Chapter - VI.

Conclusion

We have learnt from the previous pages that Buddha out of compassion for the suffering humanity started his missionary life which prolonged for long forty-five years touring all over Central India (Majjhimedesā) he established the Assembly of disciple monks and nuns (Saṅgha) and the thousands of monasteries were erected as residence for innumerable Buddhist celebrities. Every Buddhist monastery, where all the monks and nuns spent their life performing all duties enjoined on them and practices of meditations, was a centre learning where Buddhist Doctrines and also secular subjects were imparted to them by efficient Senior monk teachers. Through out the Pali canon it is stated that Buddha, the great Teacher (satthā), himself, after mid-day rest, was absorbed in meditation for sometime and then deliver a discourse or discussed doctrinal matters such as four Noble Truths, Middle path, etc. sometimes he did it in the morning before the Assembly of monks and nuns. The goal of Buddha's discussion (dhamma-desanās) was to secure extinction of thirst or craving (Tṛṣṇā) for sensual pleasure, the root cause of suffering and mental unrest and all kinds of defilements and thus finally to achieve the eternal peace and supreme bliss through emancipation (vimukti) and realisation of Nirvāṇa. Buddha delivered many discourses for well-being of his innumerable lay-devotees. Generally Buddha adopted the method of gradual course of training for monks as stated in the Gaṇaka Moggallāna Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya (vol-III). Gaṇaka Moggallāna Brāhmaṇa once met Buddha and said that all kinds of training needed a graduated course or progress, e.g. in constructing a staircase (sopānakalevara) of a building, in study, in mathematical

calculations and asked him whether there was any graduated course in the training of Buddha's disciple. Buddha answered in the affirmative and described the gradual course of training prescribed by him for the attainment of emancipation which is as follows :

When an able man becomes a monk, he is first asked to observe the moral precepts (*śīlas*), to abide by all the disciplinary rules codified in the *Pātimokkha* and to be so careful as to commit the slightest wrong (*anumattesu vajjesu bhaya-dassavī*).

When the monk becomes virtuous after observance of moral precepts, Buddha gives him further training to exercise control over his sense organs (*indriyesu guttāvarō*) so that by seeing through eyes ~~the~~ object (*Cakkhunā rūpaṃ disvā*) his mind may not be attracted to the characteristics of the object, because such attractions lead to the rise of mental impurities such as greed, despair, etc. Similarly hearing with ear (*sōṭṭem saddamsutvā*), smelling with nose (*ghānena gandhaṃ ghāyitvā*), tasting with tongue (*jivhāya rasaṃ sāyitvā*), touching with body (*Kāyena Phoṭṭhabbaṃ phusitvā*) and thinking with mind (*manasā dhammaṃ viññāya*).

When he has controlled his sense organs, then he is instructed to take food for the bare maintenance of his body, to keep it just fit for leading a pure and holy life and not for embellishing or beautifying his body (*Paṭisaṅkhā yoniso āhāraṃ ahāreyyāsi neva davāya na maḍāya na vibhūsaṇāya yāvadeva imassa kāyassa tṭhitiya yāpanāya vihiṃsuparatiyā brahmacariyanuggahāya*).

When the monk becomes moderate in eating, then the Buddha instructs him to be vigilant at day and night in every

posture of sitting, walking, standing and sleeping and to cleanse his mind of obstructive mental states (*āvarṇehi dhammehi cittaṃ parisodheti*).

When the monk becomes vigilant at day and night, the Buddha then instructs him to be mindful and conscious (*satisampajañṇena samannāgato*), i.e. to practise satipatṭhāna (*smṛtyupasthāna*), in any action, be it in extending or contracting his hands, or seeing an object, in eating or drinking, in passing urine or excrements, or in putting on robes, etc. Buddha then instructs him to live in a lonely place (*vivittaṃ seṇāsanambhaja*), be it a forest, or the base of a tree, or a hill or a cave, or an open space or a straw heap. There after finishing midday meal, he is to sit crosslegged, keeping body erect and mind alert. While thus sitting he must try to purify mind of five hindrances (*pañcānīvaraṇa*), viz., greed (*abhiijhā*), hatred or malice (*vyāpāda*), sloth and torpor or idleness (*thinamiddha*), haughtiness and restlessness (*uddhacca kukkacca*) and doubt about the true dhamma (*vicikicchā*). Lastly when the monk's mental impurities have been almost removed by knowledge (*cetaso upkilese pñāyadubbhalikarane*), he is to practise four stages of meditation :

(a) Disassociating mind from sensual desire and evil thoughts, the monk enters and abides in the first stage meditation (*paṭhamajjhānaṃ*), a state of roaming and reasoning (*savitakkaṃ savicāraṃ*), derivation of mental and physical joy out of seclusion (*vivekaṃ pītisukhaṃ*).

(b) Suppressing the initial thought and reasoning, his mind internally tranquillised and fixed on one point, he enters and abides in the second stage of meditation (*dutiyajjhānaṃ*), a state devoid of initial thought and reasoning and full of joy derived out of concentration.

(c) Rising above joy (*pīti*) caused by acquisition of certain virtues and disgust (*virāga*) caused by thoughts of impermanence, the monk dwells with equanimity (*upekkhako viharati*), mindful (*sato*) and clearly conscious (*sampajāno*) and experiences within himself that joy of which the noble ones (*ariyā*) say, ' Joyful lives he who has equanimity and is mindful ' and enters and abides in the third stage of meditation (*tatiyajjhāna*).

(d) " By getting rid of joy, by getting rid of anguish, by the going down of his former pleasures and sorrows, he enters and abides in the fourth state of meditation (*Catutthajjhāna*) which has neither anguish nor joy, and which is entirely purified by equanimity and mindfulness". " In the fourth stage, the meditator's mind remains undisturbed by any kind of feeling happy or unhappy, and he has got rid of all mental impurities, his mind attains perfect equanimity".

(e) " After perfecting himself in the meditations, he should try to comprehend the four truths, viz., suffering, its origin, its removal and the path leading to its removal, likewise he should apply his mind to the four impurities (*āsevas*), their origin, removal and the path leading to removal and exert to become a *Khināsava* or arhat, the perfect". This is the gradual course of training prescribed by the Buddha for his disciples. The disciples of Buddha achieved the goal, the summum bonum of life and directed others to follow the noble path of Buddha. In fact these monk teachers were really the torch-bearers of Buddhist learning and played a significant role in the history of education in ancient India.

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